DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 269 969 FL 015 708

AUTHOR	Sajavaara, Kari, Ed.; And Others
TITLE	Papers in Language Learning and Language Acquisition. AFinLA Yearbook 1980. No. 28.
INSTITUTION	Finnish Association for Applied Linguistics, Jyvaskyla.
REPORT NO	ISBN-951-9388-15-X
PUB DATE	80
NOTE	159p.; Papers presented at the Nordic Conference on Applied Linguistics (2nd, Hanasaari, Espoo, Finland, November 23-25, 1979). For individual papers, see FL 015 709-721.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Viewpoints (120)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC07 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Communicative Competence (Languages); English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; *Language Acquisition; Language Universals; Pidgins; Pronunciation; Reading Processes; Second Language Learning; Semantics; Speech Acts; Swedish; Vocabulary Development
IDENTIFIERS	Finland

ABSTRACT

Papers include: (1) "Language Acquisitional Universals: L1, L2, Pidgins, and FLT" (Henning Wode); (2) "Language Acquisition, Language Learning and the School Curriculum" (Norman F. Davies); (3) "Language Teaching and Acquisition of Communication" (Kari Sajavaara, Jaakko Lehtonen); (4) "On the Distinction between Second-Language Acquisition and Foreign-Language Learning" (Hakan Ringbom); (5) "Defensive Speech Acts, or, Can We Use Speech Acts in Language Education" (Jacob Mey); (6) "Some Parameters of Simplification" (Jorma Tommola); (7) "The Most Functional English for a Finnish Five-Year-Old" (Pirjo Linnakyla); (8) "Aspects of the Teaching and Learning of Communicative Competence in French" (Inge Bartning); (9) "Prediction and Reflection in Reading in a Foreign Language" (Donald Adamson); (10) "Lexical Semantics and Its Application to Second and Foreign Language Vocabulary Learning and Teaching" (Kay Wikberg); (11) "De langsiktiga effekterna pa allmanna sprakfardigheter och attityder i skolan av tidigt paborjad undervisning i engelska" (Lars Holmstrand); (12) "Return to the Native Language via TREX" (Stina Borgstam); (13) "Survey of Foreigners' Pronunciation Problems in Swedish" (Robert Bannert); and (14) "The Learners' Native Language and Culture in Teaching English to Immigrants in Australia" (Peija Ilpola). (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED269969

SUOMEN SOVELLETUN KIELITIETEEN YHDISTYKSEN
(AFinLA) JULKAISUJA

PUBLICATIONS DE L'ASSOCIATION FINLANDAISE
DE LINGUISTIQUE APPLIQUEE (AFinLA)

No. 28

AFinLA YEARBOOK 1980

PAPERS IN LANGUAGE LEARNING AND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

from the 2nd Nordic Conference on Applied Linguistics,
Hanasaari, Espoo, Finland, November 23-25, 1979

edited by

Kari Sajavaara, Anne Räsänen, and Tuula Hirvonen

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

- This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
- ☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
J. Tommola

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Jyväskylä 1980

FL 015708

© Suomen soveltetun kielitieteen
yhdistys AFinLA 1980

ISBN 951-9388-15-X
ISSN 0356-8156

Turun yliopisto, offset 1980

PREFACE

This collection of papers includes most of those that were presented at the 2nd Nordic Conference on Applied Linguistics in Hanasaari, Espoo, Finland, in November 1979. The major theme of the conference was problems in language learning and language acquisition, and the papers deal with a wide area from theoretical approaches to highly practical applications. Jorma Tommola's paper on simplification was not read at the conference but was included because its topic is directly relevant to the central theme of this collection.

The organizers of the Conference wish to thank the speakers and participants for their active interest and their contribution to the success of the conference.

Jyväskylä
April, 1980

K. S.
A. R.
T. H.

CONTENTS

Preface		3
Henning Wode	Language Acquisitional Universals: L1, L2, Pidgins, and FLT	5
Norman F. Davies	Language Acquisition, Language Learning and the School Curriculum	17
Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen	Language Teaching and Acquisition of Communication	25
Håkan Ringbom	On the Distinction between Second-Language Acquisition and Foreign-Language Learning	38
Jacob Mey	Defensive Speech Acts or Can We Use Speech Acts in Language Education	45
Jorma Tommola	Some Parameters of Simplification	59
Pirjo Linnakylä	The Most Functional English for a Finnish Five-Year Old	77
Inge Bartning	Aspects of the Teaching and Learning of Communicative Competence in French	97
Donald Adamson	Prediction and Reflection in Reading in a Foreign Language	109
Kay Wikberg	Lexical Semantics and its Application to Second and Foreign Language Vocabulary Learning and Teaching	119
Lars Holmstrand	De långsiktiga effekterna på allmänna språkfärdigheter och attityder i skolan av tidigt påbörjad undervisning i engelska	131
Stina Borgstam	Return to the Native Language via 'TREX'	141
Robert Bannert	Survey of Foreigners' Pronunciation Problems in Swedish	149
Peija Ilpola	The Learners' Native Language and Culture in Teaching English to Immigrants in Australia	161

LANGUAGE ACQUISITIONAL UNIVERSALS: L1, L2, PIDGINS, AND FLT

HENNING WODE
University of Kiel

How do human beings learn languages? What enables them to do so? Do they have a different and totally unrelated neuro-psychological mechanism for learning a first language (L1), another one for the second (L2), yet another one for learning a language in the classroom, as in foreign language teaching (FLT), and still others for every different situation in which an individual may acquire a language? The answer to these questions can only be no: There are infinitely many different situations. This would require infinitely many neuro-psychological mechanisms. This, in turn, would imply that the capacity of the human brain is infinite, which it clearly is not. Man's ability to learn languages must therefore be thought of as a finite learning system flexible enough to cope with different situations. Consequently, if a theory of language acquisition is not to be ad hoc and anecdotal, it must take as its domain all types of language acquisition, and it must state commonalities as well as differences between these types.

The main questions to ask are: First, are there any acquisitional regularities which are universal in the sense that they apply in all types of language acquisition irrespective of the variables that may be involved including the age of the learner? Second, are there any acquisitional regularities which are more restricted in that they apply only in some situations, with certain age groups, etc.? Third, to which extent do learners vary individually when acquiring the same language? Fourth, to which extent can the language learning abilities, particularly the neuro-psychological language processing abilities, be manipulated, as attempted, for example, in FLT? And fifth, what type of learning theory is required to describe language learning?

These questions are taken up below. They are central to a project that was designed to develop such an integrated view/theory of language acquisition. I shall first show how this comprehensive point of view fits into the main streams of previous research on language acquisition. Then I briefly describe our project. Next I summarize the main results concerning the five topics above.

The overall view to emerge is that man is endowed with neuro-psychological processing abilities specifically geared to the processing of language/speech data. Some such abilities one applicable in all situations and in all age groups, others are more restricted in their applicability. No learning theory is presently available that adequately captures the empirically observable facts when humans learn languages.

Past research

In the past, research on language acquisition was centered on individual types. For example, the background to our project at Kiel was the research situation of the late 1960's. The activities were centered on L1 acquisition and on FLT. The former (ranging from, for example, Jakobson 1941 to Slobin 1970 and McNeill 1970) claimed that there were universal acquisitional regularities; the latter considered FLT as something totally unrelated to L˙ because of the teaching situation (eg. Lane 1962). The first failed to determine how universal the alleged universals really are. It never occurred to these researchers to consider L2 acquisition, FLT, or other acquisitional types as worthy of consideration. On the other hand, researchers on FLT failed to see that a human being could not possibly have infinitely many acquisitional mechanisms, one for every new language situation a learner may find himself in. Worst of all, FLT researchers made no attempt to investigate empirically in which way FLT differed from learning a language outside the classroom.

The situation has improved during the early 1970's, due to the rise of research on naturalistic, ie. untutored L2 acquisition. (Surveys in McLaughlin 1978, Felix 1978.) Among other things, this research has, from its beginning, been concerned with the question as to which extent naturalistic L2 acquisition parallels L1 acquisition. L2 research has also always stressed its implications for FLT. It seems to me, however, that we have to advance further and consider all types of language acquisition and to check them all for differences and commonalities, if we are ever to arrive at satisfactory understanding of how human beings learn languages. This is the aim of our comprehensive project at Kiel.

A comprehensive project

The core of the project is a typology of acquisitional situations providing for monolingualism, bilingualism, etc; L1, L2, L3 ..., ie. non-simultaneous acquisition; language teaching vs. naturalistic, ie. untutored, acquisition; re-learning of languages; and others. We systematically trace the acquisition of selected structural areas across these acquisitional types. We now have data on L1 German, L1 English, L2 German/ (acquired by speakers of) L1 English, naturalistic L2 English/L1 German, naturalistic relearning of L2 English/L1 German, FLT L2 English/L1 German, and some pidgins. (For details on the design of this project see Wode 1974, 1978a, in prep.).

Methodologically we strictly insist on two points: On the one hand, we distinguish between the way linguistic structures are learned, ie. processed by the brain, and the level of proficiency achieved by a given learner. On the other hand, we are not satisfied with giving long lists of co-occurring variables. Instead, we insist on determining which variables control which property in the observable learner data.

Learning vs. learner proficiency

Consider two L2 learners who do not reach the same level of proficiency, ie. they do not progress equally far. This does not, so it seems to me, imply that their brains process language data in different ways. It is quite likely that both learners possess the same neuro-psychological processing mechanisms but that for various reasons other pscyhological mechanisms block their application.

Co-occurrence of variables

Many researchers insist on identifying every variable involved in a language learning situation to provide the fullest possible picture (for example, Oksaar 1977). This is of little help. Such lists state co-occurrences, but they do not tell us which variable determines what in the speech of the learner. The same is true for more sophisticated approaches which determine the statistical significance for these co-occurrences. But this still does not tell us what determines what. The issues concerning how the human brain processes language data for the purpose of acquisition are far too complex to be solved by correlation statistics.

Some results

I take the view that the characterization of any acquisitional type remains unsatisfactory unless it is shown how it differs from, or how it parallels, other types. For example, to say that some property is typical of L2 acquisition implies, by way of delimitation, that it does, or does not, occur in other types. Therefore, I shall first present three rather global characteristics which seem to apply to all acquisitional types. They are, intended to serve two purposes: first, they present the major outlines of a comprehensive theory of language acquisition; second, these global characteristics serve as a frame of reference within which commonalities and differences can be stated between the types. I shall especially deal with what characterizes L2 acquisition.

Decomposition of target structures

Whatever the type of acquisition, target structures are not necessarily acquired all at once. Complex structural areas, eg. interrogation, or inflections, are first decomposed, as it were, into various elements which are later on re-integrated, step by step, into the target structure. This is reflected, among other things, in the errors observable in the production of language learners. The acquisitional types differ as to the degree of decomposition. It is highest for L1, less for naturalistic L2, and even less for FLT.

Developmental sequences

Since a language is not learned all at once, there must be some chronological order in the acquisition of the structures of a given language. The naturalistic types in contrast to the tutored ones, are marked by a much stricter chronological sequence in which the elements of a structural paradigm (eg. the interrogative pronouns) or a particular structure or structural area (such as negation, the vowel system) is acquired. Note that this includes the pre-targetlike developmental structures. As an illustration consider Table 1. It contrasts some early stages and developmental structures when English and German are involved in various combinations of L1 and/or naturalistic L2 acquisition. Note that some developmental structures, like III neg X or IV Subj neg VP occur in all four types, whereas the type IV Subj V neg X is restricted to L2 English/L1 German.

Strategies

Obviously, these global characteristics, although formulated in linguistic terminology, are the product of behavior on the part of the learner. They must result from learner strategies. To be more precise, they result from the language processing mechanisms of the human brain. That is, I assume that a characteristic like decomposition of target structures

Table 1. Early stages in some developmental sequences for the acquisition of negation (adapted from Wode 1976, 1977b).

(1)

	L1 German		L2 German/L1 English
I	nein 'no'	I-II	nein 'no'
II	nein, Milch 'no, (I want) milk'		nein, da 'no, (it is) there'
III	nein hauen 'no bang (i.e. don't bang on the table)'	III	nein helfen 'no help (i.e. don't help me)'
IV	Heiko nicht essen 'Heiko not eat (i.e. doesn't eat)'	IV	Katze nein schlafen 'the cat no sleep'
	die nicht kaputt 'this not broken'		Milch nicht da 'milk not there'

(2)

	L1 English		L2 English/L1 German
I	no	I-II	no
II	no, mom		no, you
III	no close 'don't close the door'	III	no play baseball 'let's not play baseball'
IV	Katherine no like celery	IV	that's no good lunch is no ready me no close the window 'I'm not going to close the window'
	Katherine not quite through		John go not to the school John is not going to school

presents a set of strategies minutely geared to process the formal properties of linguistic devices. They are structure-specific in that it should require different strategies to handle, say phonology, word order, free or bound forms. Consequently, the global characteristics above remain rather uninformative unless these minute strategies are identified and unless the conditions of their applicability are made clear both in terms of the formal structures they operate on and in terms of the acquisitional type for which they are available. Consider the acquisition of free and bound forms, for example, English *will: -'ll*, *have: -'ve*, *no/not: -n't*. A survey of L1, naturalistic L2, and FLT L2 English/L1 German has shown that free forms are produced productively before the bound forms in these three acquisitional types (Wode 1979). This raises the question to which extent such strategies are universal or restricted to some type(s) and/or age groups; and to which extent they allow for individual variation.

Universals

Consider a special case of the free vs. bound form strategy, as manifested, in the two negation types *neg X∼X neg* and *Subj neg VP*. I have traced them through various acquisitional types, including pidgins and creoles. A sample of the evidence is summarized in Table 2.

The strategy concerning free vs. bound forms predicts that the bound forms should be later than *no/not*, or the free form equivalents of other languages. Since pidgins were included in the survey, it was impossible to determine the sequencing in every case. Yet the strategy would still predict that the two negation types should at least occur. Table 2 fully confirms these predictions. Moreover, since the subjects in this survey include age ranges up to 60 and above, it follows that these negation structures are due to some universal, non-age dependent strategy. But, of course, there is no reason to assume that all other strategies are universal in the same way. Reliance on L1, for example, is restricted to L2 acquisition.

Reliance on prior language knowledge

That L2 learners draw on their L1 is by no means novel. It is most important, therefore, to note the nature of their reliance on L1. First, it is not a developmental mistake, but an integral part of L2 acquisition. Learners, in spite of recent suggestions to the contrary by Dulay and Burt 1974a-c, approach the L2 through the grid of their previous language expe-

Table 2. Negation structures neg X, X neg and Subj neg VP in various types of language acquisition, including pidgins and early creoles (from Wode, in press)

Acquisitional type	Negation type neg X	 X neg	 Subj neg VP
L1 monolingualism			
English (Bloom 1970)	no close		I no want envelope
German (Wode 1977a)	nein schaff ich 'no manage I'	Kaffee nein 'coffee no'	Katze nein schlafen 'cat no sleep'
Swedish (Lange/Larsson 1973)	nej kossa 'no cow'		Embla inte ha täcket 'Embla not have quilt'
Latvian (Wode/Ruke-Dravina 1977)	nē minimi 'no pencil'	gib nē 'will no'	ipupu nē īta 'bath no go'
Naturalistic L2 acquisition			
L2 English/German (Wode 1976)	no play baseball		me no close the window
L2 English/Spanish (Schumann 1975)	no like coffee '(I) don't like coffee'		I no can see 'I can't see'
L2 English/Japanese (Milon 1974)	no my turn		me no win
L2 German/English (Felix 1978)	nein meine 'no mine'		ich nein hat eins 'I no have one'
Re-learning L2			
L2 English/German (Wode, unpublished data)	no sit here 'don't sit here'		I no want to play 'I don't want to play'
Pidgin			
Ewondo Populaire (Todd 1974)	ke bo 'don't go'		me ke bo 'I don't do'
Freetown Krio (Todd 1974)	nɔ du 'don't do'		a nɔ du 'I don't do'
Hawaiian Pidgin (Carr 1972)	my father, no take care me 'my father, (he) didn't take care of me'		baby name, me no like 'I don't like my baby name'

rience. Reliance on L1 is not random, but systematic. Learners draw on their L1 only at specific points in their L2 developments. Crucial prerequisites within the L2 development have to be met before reliance on L1 can take place at all. (Details on these arguments and on the four characteristics in Wode 1977b, 1978b-c.)

Individual variation

Research on language acquisition has largely neglected the study of individual variation among learners. Of course, it is well known that onset of acquisition, speed, fluency, and the like, may vary drastically. Less is known about structural variation, ie. individual variations within the developmental sequences in terms of variations among the linguistic structures used by the learner, including his pre-targetlike errors. Such variations occur in all acquisitional types. But they seem to be much greater in FLT than in either L1 or naturalistic L2 acquisition. These variations are not infinite. Their range is limited to the acquisitional type(s) and the target structure(s).

To give an example, I return to the free vs. bound form strategy. Suppose a learner of English has learned both *no* and *not*. The free vs. bound form strategy allows him to use either one. This is exactly what we found in our data on L2 English/L1 German, for example, in the *Subj neg VP* structure. The type *Subj not VP* occurred, and so *did Subj no VP*. Both structures may be found with one speaker; other learners may prefer one over the other. It seems, that this type of structural variation results from the structure of the language processing strategies of the human brain.

FLT

As pointed out above, one difference between FLT and naturalistic L2 acquisition is the lack of chronologically ordered developmental sequences in FLT. However, this does not mean that both types are totally unrelated, because despite this difference the error types are much the same. This means that man's natural processing abilities also operate in FLT. More than that, there is evidence to suggest that these abilities can only be manipulated to some extent, because they recur even in schoolroom drills conducted to avoid them. Consider this utterance: *doesn't John go home*. It was one among many like in our FLT data. Such utterances occurred while negation was being learned/practised. They are not intended as interrogatives, but as negated statements. They cannot be explained by teaching methodology, nor by L1 reliance. Rather, such utterances are due to the free vs. bound form strategy, with doesn't being used as a free form. The word order is that of the type neg X, familiar from naturalistic L2 (cf. Table 1).

Conclusion

Man's capacity for language acquisition is not strictly compartmentalized such that there is one acquisitional mechanism for L1, another totally unrelated to the first one for L2, and so on. Rather, man seems to be invested with a unified mechanism flexible enough to handle various differences in the external settings. This learning system operates on the formal properties of the linguistic devices used in natural languages. On the one hand, man's language learning system constitutes a special type of cognitive capacities which are especially geared to the acquisition of language structures. The details of these capacities cannot be equated with cognitive concepts, the development of logical thinking, of perception, of pragmatics, or how to handle the complexities of social interaction, and the like. On the other hand, man's language learning system seems to agree with at least some of the general properties of other learning systems. For instance, the notion of developmental sequences including individual variation, recurs elsewhere in the maturational development of human beings. So does reliance on prior knowledge and the decomposition of complex phenomena for the purposes of learning.

As for L2 acquisition, whether one looks at the various types of L2 bilingualism in terms of language contact or conflict, loyalty or shift, intellectual advantages or disadvantages, or in terms of puristic attitudes, interference, borrowing, pidginization and de-creolization, all these issues, it seems to me, cannot be studied in any really profound way unless the language acquisitional aspects are given due consideration. All these phenomena, one way or another, fall within the range of L2 acquisitional regularities.

References

Bloom, L. 1970. Language development: form and function in emerging grammars. Cambridge, Mass.

Carr, E. 1972. Da Kine Talk. From Pidgin to standard English in Hawaii. University of Hawaii Press.

Dulay, H., and M. Burt 1974a. Errors and strategies in child second language acquisition, TESOL Quarterly 8, 129-136.

Dulay, H., and M. Burt 1974b. Natural sequences in child second language acquisition, Language Learning 24, 37-53.

Dulay, H., and M. Burt 1974c. A new prospective on the creative construction process in child second language acquisition, Language Learning 24, 253-278.

Felix, S.W. 1978. Natürlicher Zweitsprachenerwerb: eine linguistische Untersuchung, München.

Jakobson, R. 1941. Kindersprache, Aphasie und allgemeine Lautgesetze. Uppsala.

Lane, H. 1962. Some differences between first and second language learning, Language Learning 12, 1-14.

Lange, S. and K. Larsson 1973. Syntactical development of a Swedish girl, Embla, between 20 and 42 months of age, Part 1: Age 20 - 25 months. Stockholm.

McLaughlin, B. 1978. Second Language Acquisition in Childhood. New York.

McNeill, D. 1970. The acquisition of language: the study of developmental psycholinguistics. New York.

Milon, J. 1974. The development of negation in English by a second language learner, TESOL Quarterly 8, 137-143.

Oksaar, E. 1977. Spracherwerb im Vorschulalter. Einführung in die Pädolinguistik. Stuttgart.

Schumann, J.H. 1975. Second language acquisition: The pidginization hypothesis. Ph.D. Dissertation Harvard.

Slobin, D.I. 1970. Universals of grammatical development in children, in Flores d'Arcais and Levelt (eds.) 1970, 174-186.

Todd, L. 1974. Pidgins and Creoles. London.

Wode, H. 1974. Natürliche Zweitsprachigkeit: Probleme, Aufgaben, Perspektiven, Linguistische Berichte 32, 15-36.

Wode, H. 1976. Developmental sequences in naturalistic L2 acquisition, Working Papers on Bilingualism 11, 1-31.

Wode, H. 1977a. Four early stages in the development of L1 negation, Journal of Child Language 4, 87-102.

Wode, H. 1977b. Developmental principles in naturalistic L2 acquisition, in G. Drachmann (ed.), Akten der dritten Salzburger Jahrestagung für Linguistik, Salzburg, 207-220.

Wode, H. 1978a. L1-Erwerb, L2-Erwerb und Fremdsprachenunterricht, Die Neueren Sprachen 77, 462-466.

Wode, H. 1978b. The beginnings of non-school room L2 phonological acquisition, *IRAL* 16, 109-125.

Wode, H. 1978c. Fehler, Fehleranalyse und Fehlerbetonung im Lichte des natürlichen L2-Erwerbs, *Linguistik und Didaktik* 9, 233-245.

Wode, H. 1979. Operating Principles and 'Universals' in L1, L2 and FLT, *IRAL* 17, 217-231.

Wode, H. (in press). Learning a second language.

Wode, H., and V. Ruke-Dravina 1977. Why 'Kathryn no like celery', *Folia Linguistica* 10, 361-376.

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION, LANGUAGE LEARNING AND THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

NORMAN F. DAVIES
University of Linköping

The language teaching profession today is more active, more self-aware and more self-critical than at any time in its history. It has also undergone a number of revolutions in pedagogical theory, an extension of its coverage into the area of languages for special purposes, and a major shift of intention or goal, from the inculcation of knowledge to the development of a skill: specifically, that of communication.

It is therefore with some hesitation that one proposes further changes, of which one, at least, is radical enough to amount to what Nord has called "a paradigm shift" (Nord 1978). However, despite the many notable successes of present methods, it is widely agreed that there remains room for improvement. Too many students emerge from language courses with a sense of failure predominant. This is specially true of short courses, in which they are unlikely to reach a minimum threshold of achievement in any skill, let alone acquire a feeling of mastery. The more gifted, on the other hand, experience "the sense of disappointment that creeps into second language learning from about the middle of the second year" (Howatt 1979: 18), and are frequently bored by the slow pace of progress.

One of the proposed remedies, energetically propagated by Altman, Gougher and others, is the far-reaching individualization of learning (see e.g. Altman 1972, 1977, Gougher 1972). While this has much to recommend it, it requires so much organization and is so radical a departure from normal classroom methods that it is never likely to be used more than peripherally by the average teacher. Furthermore, in an extreme form, the individually planned programme or learning contract runs counter to the principle of language as social interaction.

The major source of difficulty has been identified by several linguists (see Davies 1978) as the emphasis laid on speech training in audio-lingual theory, which sees language learning as learning to talk, and encourages the teacher to concentrate on this skill from the very first day. Most courses progress at the pace of the skills which are least rapidly acquired, namely speaking and writing, and pursue a carefully structured grammar curriculum of ever-growing complexity. As Howatt points out, "the need for semantic and content organisation to keep 'in lock-step' with syntactic development results in texts of restricted intellectual stimulation, particularly for the more gifted students" (Howatt 1979:18). The less gifted, on the other hand, are soon in a state of task overload, which inhibits further learning and weakens motivation. Moreover, despite the emphasis on speech, the individual in the average language class is given little opportunity for speaking, and most of what he does manage to say is repetition or rephrasing, usually of material from a school-book text, or in the form of a structured drill of one sort or another. He is rarely called upon to express himself creatively and fluently on a topic he finds interesting.

This is not a natural way of learning languages. Obviously, the constraints of time and environment under which the vast majority of language learning is done mean that a natural language situation can never be reproduced in school. Nevertheless, many of the findings of first language acquisition studies (see Clark and Clark 1977 for a review) are applicable to language learning per se. The language input which surrounds the child is not ordered in any strictly hierarchical way. So-called 'caretaker speech' is characterised by shorter sentences, a greater proportion of well-formed utterances, less subordination, a more restricted vocabulary and a more restricted range of topics than occur in ordinary speech. ('Foreigner talk' is similar in nature.) The child is immersed in language, from which his natural acquisition device selects its intake according to an inner structural pattern which is reasonably predictable as to sequence but can be very variable in time. After a period of absorbing the language impulses given by his environment, the child speaks when he is ready, sacrifices accuracy to fluency, and accepts correction only when he is ready to do so. He goes through many interlanguages in which errors are a necessary transitional stage.

What significance may natural acquisition have for the language classroom? To quote Wilkins:

> The learning mechanism operates through its capacity to formulate rules about the language once the individual has been exposed to it. The essential condition is exposure to the language, and as long as this exposure continues the learning mechanism will operate. What is needed in language teaching, therefore, is adequate exposure to the target language. The greater the exposure to meaningful language the more effectively the learner can formulate and revise his hypotheses about the structure of the language. (Wilkins 1972:172).

It is one of the contentions of the present paper that adequate meaningful exposure to the language should precede any attempt to train productive skills. Exposure is, of course, not enough in itself; there must be motivation and active encouragement to learn, to formulate, however unconsciously, hypotheses about the target language. But a school language curriculum should place its initial emphasis on the receptive skills of listening and reading. Asher's Total Physical Response method is an excellent and natural way to start (Asher 1977). The course should move on as rapidly as possible, through forms of caretaker speech, to the use of semi-authentic and authentic materials which appeal to the natural interests of the pupils and offer them intellectual challenge and stimulation. A course which concentrates on understanding quickly achieves an overall view of the structure of the language without becoming bogged down in complicated aspects of accidence or syntax which are frequently redundant as bearers of information. A certain grammatical sequence there will be in the initial stages, but the most relevant sequence is that of acquisition, which will result from the efforts of the learner to understand the materials before him. As Krashen recognizes: "intake is first of all input that is understood. Indeed comprehension may be at the heart of the language acquisition process" (Krashen 1978:16). And it is the recognition that the focal skill in language acquisition is not speaking, but listening, understanding, which constitutes the paradigm shift so convincingly described and supported by Nord (Nord 1978). Not only does a concentration on receptive skills permit a much greater exposure to language samples than in conventional courses, not only does it allow interesting and meaningful materials to be used, but it also leads to a sense of mastery even in less gifted pupils, and in shorter courses, allows all to achieve a terminal skill of future value.

The present writer is now leading a project in Linköping, in which the first year of a three-year French course is being devoted largely to the rapid acquisition of reading and listening comprehension (see Davies 1978a and 1978b).

It is not, however, our intention to deny the value of training to speak a foreign language. Far from it. It is our expectation that speech will develop spontaneously in some pupils, and all will be encouraged to use the target language if and when they feel ready to do so. But speech in the foreign language will not be required nor will the demands of active speech training be allowed to slow down the progress of the course until the second year, when the transition will gradually be made. By this time the student should have an overview of the language, should feel reasonably at home in it, and should have acquired a considerable amount of vocabulary, which is even more essential both to production and comprehension than syntax. One can achieve considerable success in communication with a large vocabulary and a minimal stock of acquired rules of syntax, whereas the converse leads only to frustrated silence or inadequate stutterings. Vocabulary building is therefore the most essential task of early learning.

But where should the course proceed from there? What are the essential factors in communication? They would seem to be three: accuracy, appropriateness and fluency. Accuracy has long been the major goal of language teaching, and is concerned to give the pupil a command over the grammatical and syntactical structure of the target language. This is a valid and important goal, yet a course which lays too much stress on it, and is paced according to the acquisition rate of the slower learners, will not only tend to produce boredom in all, it will also expose pupils to too restricted a sample of language which will itself inhibit learning. A course primarily concerned with accuracy normally follows a structural teaching strategy.

Appropriateness has received increasing attention in recent years, and is at the heart of Widdowson's distinction between use and usage (see e.g. Widdowson 1978). The statement I am in perfect health, thank you is a well-formed example of usage, but a highly inappropriate response to the stimulus: How do you do? The realization of language as use involves the ability to select forms appropriate to a particular linguistic context and to a particular communicative situation (Widdowson 1978:6). A course which stresses use rather than usage will employ variants of the situational-functional-notional approaches embodied, for instance, in the Council of Europe's Threshold Level (van Ek 1975) and Wilkins' much-discussed book Notional Syllabuses (1976). And there is no doubt that a course which commences with receptive skills will find it easy to introduce situations, functions and notions in a natural way and richly exemplified.

The third factor, fluency, has received relatively little attention in the school syllabus, and yet is of major importance. We may define fluency as the ability to express oneself adequately and without undue hesitation in a given situation, whether in speech or in writing. (The terms of this definition need further definition in their turn, of course.) When language is actually being used, and not merely praticed in drills and exercises, it is not what has been learned that is important, but what has been acquired, to use Krashen's distinction:

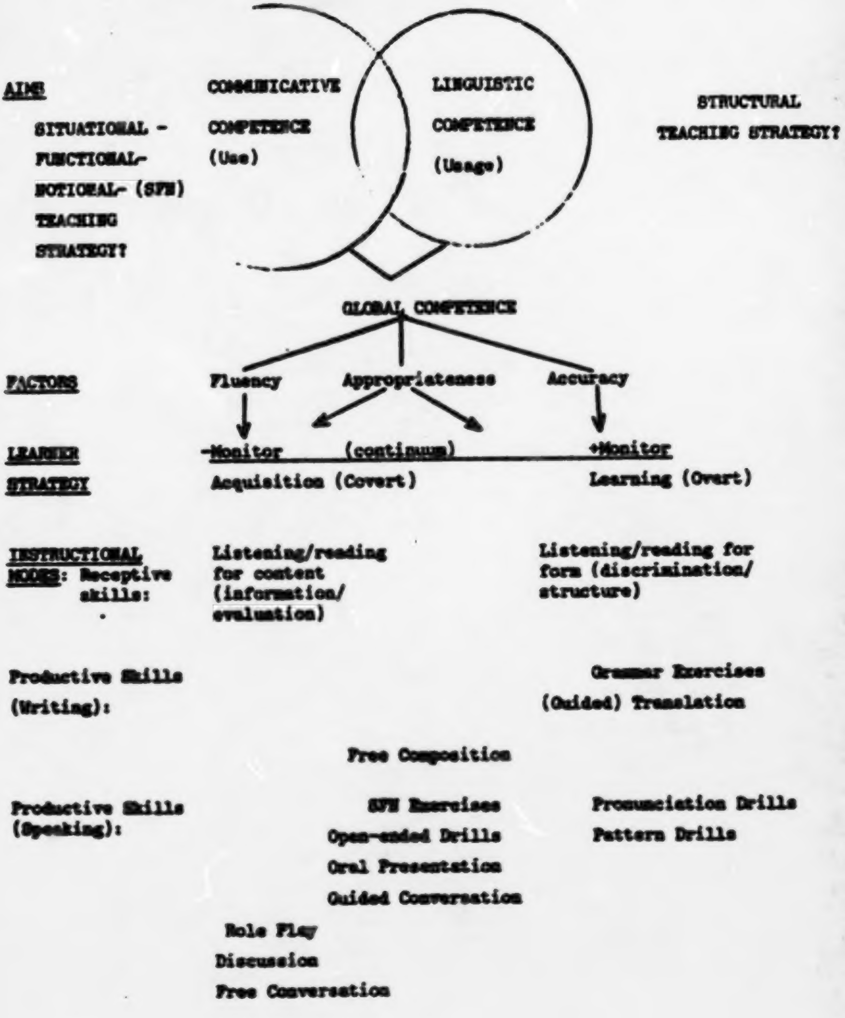
> My model does predict that acquisition and learning are inter-related in a definite way, and that acquisition is far more central than learning in second language performance; specifically, we initiate utterances using our acquired competence for normal second language

> performance, that is, our fluency in using second languages comes from what we have acquired, not from what we have learned. Learning does have a role, but it is a rather small one: It can be used only as a Monitor. (Krashen 1978: 10.)

For the acquisition process to function adequately in the classroom, the main requirements must surely be firstly, exposure to a rich language environment and active comprehension, and as a second stage, manifold opportunities to use the language in creative and motivating exercises, and in social interaction. The language classroom in which only one person at a time is talking is probably inefficient. Fluency training demands the extensive use of group work, where individuals can develop their own learning strategies, can learn from each other, and above all, can acquire language through using it. It is an often observed fact that some language users are very efficient at making maximum use of minimum knowledge, while others who in theory "know" a language much better, fail to communicate fluently. Practice in communication strategies and continued use of language in interactive situations are often more productive than further learning, though I do not wish to recommend the permanent acceptance of classroom pidgin or a fossilized level of interlanguage.

Accuracy and fluency are to some extent polarities, as Brumfit, among others, has pointed out (Brumfit 1979). Accuracy can probably best be trained in strictly controlled written exercises and language laboratory drills. Rule-giving may lead to improved acquisition if the student's state of knowledge has progressed to the point where he can absorb the rule, and especially adult learners find overt rules psychologically satisfying. What the experiments of Krashen and his colleagues seem to show is that the conscious application of rules in situations where communication is the goal is rare (Krashen 1978, Krashen et al 1978). In exercises which are devoted to training fluency, therefore, students should be allowed to make use of their acquired rules, however faulty their interlanguage, without interruption and correction from the teacher. The activity is its own goal, and such activity should be a major part of the language teaching curriculum. Busy, even noisy, small groups, should probably be a feature of virtually every lesson. The teacher should use different instructional modes to train accuracy and fluency, should be aware of the primary goal of the mode he is using, and should seek to maintain a balance which neglects neither the one nor the other and, of course, also includes new learning. Training in linguistic, cultural and situational appropriateness would seem to be possible in all modes and throughout both receptive and productive phases. The model in Figure 1 exemplifies possible instructional modes and their position on

FIGURE 1. Language Learning Model.


AIMS
SITUATIONAL - FUNCTIONAL- NOTIONAL- (SFN) TEACHING STRATEGY?
COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE (Use)
LINGUISTIC COMPETENCE (Usage)
STRUCTURAL TEACHING STRATEGY?
GLOBAL COMPETENCE
FACTORS
Fluency
Appropriateness
Accuracy
LEARNER STRATEGY
-Monitor
(continuum)
+Monitor
Acquisition (Covert)
Learning (Overt)
INSTRUCTIONAL MODES: Receptive skills:
Listening/reading for content (information/ evaluation)
Listening/reading for form (discrimination/ structure)
Productive Skills (Writing):
Grammar Exercises
(Guided) Translation
Free Composition
Productive Skills (Speaking):
SFN Exercises
Open-ended Drills
Oral Presentation
Guided Conversation
Pronunciation Drills
Pattern Drills
Role Play
Discussion
Free Conversation

a continuum from fluency to accuracy, from minimum to maximum Monitor use.

In sum then, it is the contention of the present paper that a modern language curriculum should be firmly based on receptive skills, to which nearly all initial attention will be given. As the receptivity phase progresses, and during the subsequent productivity phase, the three factors of fluency, appropriateness and accuracy will be carefully trained, fluency being given a very prominent role, not only in training, but also in the evaluation of student performance. The student must be kept continually active in the comprehension of a rich linguistic environment and in the creation of meaningful utterances, which are the primary means of language acquisition.

References

Altman, H.B. (ed.) 1972. Individualizing the Foreign Language Classroom: Perspectives for Teachers. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Altman, H.B. (ed.) 1977. Individualized Instruction. Special issue of System 5/2, May 1977.

Asher, J.J. 1977. Learning Another Language Through Actions: The Complete Teacher's Guidebook. Los Gatos, California: Sky Oaks Productions.

Brumfit, C. 1979. Accuracy and Fluency as Polarities in Foreign Language Teaching Materials and Methodology, Bulletin CILA 29, 89-96.

Clark, H., and E. Clark 1977. Psychology and Language. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Davies, N.F. 1978a. Putting Receptive Skills First: An Investigation into Sequencing in Modern Language Learning. Linköping University: Department of Language and Literature.

Davies, N.F. 1978b. Putting Receptive Skills First - An Experiment in Sequencing. Paper presented at 5th World Congress of AILA, Montreal, August 1978. Forthcoming in The Canadian Modern Language Review.

van Ek, J.A. 1975. The Threshold Level. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Gougher, R.L. (ed.) 1972. Individualization of Instruction in Foreign Languages. Philadelphia: The Center for Curriculum Development.

Howatt, A.P.R. 1979. Deliberate Semantics - an 'Interventionist' Approach to Second Language Teaching Methodology, Bulletin CILA 29, 5-22.

Krashen, S.D. 1978. Relating Theory and Practice in Adult Second Language Acquisition, SPEAQ Journal 2/2, 9-32.

LANGUAGE TEACHING AND ACQUISITION OF COMMUNICATION

KARI SAJAVAARA AND JAAKKO LEHTONEN
University of Jyväskylä

In language teaching there has been a certain trend away from the teaching of grammar in the last few years. Instead of grammatical competance, the importance of communicative competence is being emphasized. The idea that the study of the linguistic code only is insufficient for the interpretation of communicative success is becoming more widespread. Although a certain change in the general attitude toward the question of what language is and how language should be described is apparent, very little information is available today of how language skills proper, ie. the control of the verbal code, and various information processing systems should be correlated with regard to an overall picture of language proficiency.

The practice of foreign language teaching has mostly reflected changes in linguistic theory (cf. eg. Nawrocka-Fisiak 1977). Audiolingual methodology received its strongest cues from structuralism through behavioural psychology, and cognitive aspects of language teaching came to be emphasized with the upsurge of generativist ideologies. A grave defect in all such methodologies is the basic assumption that problems of language teaching, which are typically problems of applied research, can be solved by means of a formal theoretical model or a single scientific theory without paying due attention to the complex nature of the problems concerned. Moreover, it is self-evident that problems which are non-grammatical by nature cannot be solved by means of grammatical theories.

There is also another reason why a theoretical linguistic model cannot be sufficient for the solution of the problems of language teaching. The linguist's description of a language is static and represents the product of language acquisition, while language teaching should be built upon a dynamic representation of the processes of language learning and language acquisition (cf. Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1979). In addition to the dynamic nature of language acquisition, language use also entails dynamic aspects of human interaction and communication which should be integrated into the description of the phenomena involved in second/foreign language proficiency. Most linguistic models neglect the fact that in communicative situations language users themselves construct the prerequisites of communicative success. It is a kind of game whose basic rules are known to the participants through, among other things, the process of socialization, while the strategy and tactics and their implementation are chosen in the communicative situation. Individual variations in natural situations of language use pose great difficulties for an analysis of the language teaching process; the simplistic picture given by most language teaching materials, which is mostly created by linguistic models, is definitely false.

It is a sad state of affairs that languages have been learned through the ages more often without teaching than by teaching. Nothing is more normal for human beings than acquiring languages. If the formal aspects of the language code are the sole object of language teaching, aspects which are not even observed by language users in normal communication, it is only natural that language learners intuitively object to an artificial tampering with what they feel to be an integral part of themselves. Most of the information upon which language teaching has been built has been anecdotal, while the amount of research data has been negligible. Several variables both within and outside the learner affect the product of the second language acquisition process; if it is assumed that everybody, at any age, has the ability to internalize languages (see Krashen 1978), what is needed is knowledge about why the process does not always succeed. The major research tasks centre on two primary areas (see also Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1979):
(1) research on cross-language interaction to deal with problems that are related to the communicative interactional situation, and to discover answers to the question of how language learners develop the ability to produce the right kind of cues, both linguistic and non-linguistic, and the ability to interpret similar cues correctly; and
(2) research on the problems related to the level of message processing in the language learner, which involves a primarily psycholinguistic approach to deal with the phenomena beyond the horizon of consciousness.

Earlier, language proficiency was mostly understood to mean knowledge of the details of the verbal code; today a generally accepted framework is lacking, within which statements could be made of what it means when it is said that someone knows or does not know a language. The fact that a learner is able to recognize and segment phenomena and elements that relate to a system abstracted from sentences/utterances by a linguist does not necessarily mean that he is able to make use of the same phenomena and elements in natural speech communication. Similarly, 'communicative' teaching of foreign languages mostly aims at the production of grammatically well-formed sentences without much attention actually being paid to what is being communicated. That is to say, a 'communicative' method is used to teach grammar 'communicatively', not to teach communication.

Structural linguistics was an approach designed to solve the complexity of problems involved in the description of language by means of an atomistic, or an elementaristic, method: the entity was split into more controllable subsystems; simultaneously the variation evident in real language communication was swept away by choosing a high enough level of resolution, a suitable level of -emes. A confusion resulted from the fact that structures and items which were found to be fundamental in structuralist analysis were also regarded as basic elements in language teaching. In the teaching of pronunciation, for instance, this meant that phonetic differences were classed as phonological and allophonic; phonological errors were regarded as dangerous, while allophonic errors were not considered important because they were not seen to affect the meaning of the utterance (see Lehtonen and Sajavaara (eds.) 1979). The assumption that the constructs of linguistic description, such as phonemes, morphemes, and junctures, were also relevant units in the production and perception of messages - or in the process of language acquisition - was quite ad hoc. As a matter of fact, today it is not at all self-evident that these parameters are connected with the processing of information in communicative tasks. Most work on language teaching analysis which is derived from the isolation of autonomous levels of description gives the impression that learners have the ability to create concrete representations on the basis of abstractions that are taught to them. In language acquisition, the true state of affairs is exactly the reverse: the language acquirer builds up his language system on the basis of the concrete representations to which he is exposed. The system therefore works from the concrete to the abstract, and not from the abstract to the concrete.

The choice of the reference model concerns the model to be used in the description, and the choice between a static and dynamic view of language. The latter relates to the choice between a linguistic and psycholinguistic description, or between a structural and operational modelling of the communicative vehicle, ie. language and the chain of speech (cf. Lehtonen 1978; see also Davis 1978, and Levelt and Flores d'Arcais 1977:xiv). The former (the structural model) aims at describing the abstracted and idealized strucutre of language, which, for present purposes, means similarities and differences in the structures, or grammars, of two or more languages. An essential presupposition for an understanding of the dynamic view of language is the insight that grammatical rules, syntactic as well as phonological, are regarded only as descriptions of certain regular structures of language and not as models for the mental processes actually used by people in speaking and listening (cf. Clark and Clark 1977:190ff.).

The target of an operational model of language is language in action. In perception, linguistic information is not processed 'hierarchically' by proceeding step by step through the levels of grammar from a concrete level of representation to phonology and syntax, and further to abstract 'meaning'. Instead, the components of the system which exploit the hearer's phonological, syntactic, and pragmatic knowledge work simultaneously in terms of a time-sharing system. This model implies that there are 'cues' for all levels of grammar in the flow of speech waves and that the information involved is not present in the actual speech coded through phonology alone. Corresponding factors are also present in the process of message production, which, similarly, cannot be seen as a chain of steps leading from higher linguistic levels through syntax and phonology to phonetics and actual physical speech. In perception, lexicon, syntax, and phonological structure all act as a set of constraints which reduce the number of probable 'guesses' in the process of a linguistic identification of the acoustic speech input. The knowledge-driven process is simultaneous with the input-driven analysis (see Lindsay and Norman 1977:278ff.). In addition, there is a retroactive reworking effect, where the perception of a word or a sequence of words may be changed afterwards on the basis of the subsequent context. These are all processes which are not normally accessible to consciousness. Only the single final option is perceived, and not the preceding multiplicity of choices.

Human communication is dependent on a variety of factors (see Figure 1). In addition to grammar and lexicon such factors as discourse history, facts and beliefs, social constraints, and information about language-world relationships can be listed, which feed information to the Overlord; in addition, a number of personality factors are found, which include will and intention, affective and emotive variables, and performance potential. All these may function differently in different kinds of external situations. The final performance is a kind of compromise between the demands of the task and available capacity.

Language teaching has been traditionally built upon an idea of the primacy of production. There are several reasons, however, why more attention should be paid to reception. Why is it important for aspects of the process of understanding speech and text to be considered when language acquisition and learning are being dealt with? There are at least two reasons:

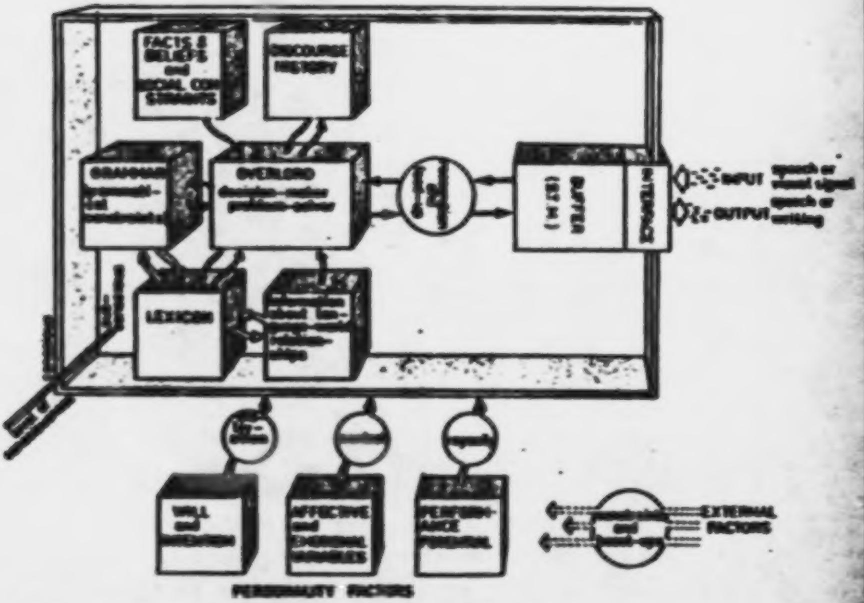

FACTS & BELIEFS
and
SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS
DISCOURSE HISTORY
GRAMMAR
OVERLORD
decision-maker
problem-solver
LEXICON
BUFFER
(ST M)
INTERFACE
INPUT
speech or visual signal
OUTPUT
speech or writing
WILL and ATTENTION
AFFECTIVE and EMOTIONAL VARIABLES
PERFORMANCE POTENTIAL
EXTERNAL FACTORS
PERSONALITY FACTORS

Figure 1. A simplified model of message processing.

(1) Language teaching aims at a correct use of the 'machinery' described in the model of message processing (see Figure 1).
(2) This process of speech reception is the channel through which linguistic information reaches the learner in a language-teaching situation; if it does not function, there can be no intake.

It may now be asked whether a linguistic description of a grammar of a foreign language is the right kind of description for the selection and arrangement of methods and materials for the teaching of language proficiency. It is important to bear in mind that grammar is a theoretical model which describes the set of possible sentences in a language, ie. a description of what people know about the sentences. A grammatical model gives no clue as to how people apply this knowledge when they are processing a sentence (when planning a sentence or when understanding a sentence they hear). What is needed is a model which describes language in action, ie. the phenomena and processes whose meaningful use is the target of language teaching. From recent work by Flores d'Arcais (1978), Carroll & al. (1978)

and Marslen-Wilson & al. (1978) it is evident that less emphasis should be placed on linguistic variables and more "on the role of surface perceptual cues used by the perceiver to construct 'functional propositional units'" (Marslen-Wilson & al. 1978:244). According to Carroll and Bever (1976), our current focus in the studies of sentence perception must be on structures only insofar as they reveal properties of the psychological operation themselves. A distinction can be made along these lines between a linguistically oriented and a communicatively oriented approach to the process of perception:

(1) A linguistically oriented approach aims at explaining how a linguistic representation is derived from speech input.

(2) A communicatively oriented approach describes how the hearer deciphers the speaker's intentions in particular communicative settings.

A communicative approach implies a reorientation towards grammar. When reference is made to grammar, no grammatical model is meant but, rather, the characteristics of the communicative mechanism which make it possible for a native speaker to produce a text/utterance which is 'grammatically acceptable' and which make it possible for a native speaker to interpret the information embedded in a text in a predictable way. Although it is assumed that grammar and grammatical rules are not necessarily neurobehavioural structures, it must also be assumed that grammar and grammatical rules are, in some way, represented in neurobehavioural structures (cf. Buckingham and Hollien 1978:294).

Communicative competence could now be defined as an ability to make use of the mechanism described in Figure 1 in an acceptable way. Such competence can be reached through communication only, while formal teaching leads to knowledge about grammatical constraints in the form of generalized rules, and to what could be termed 'pseudo-competence'. It is sufficient for the simulation of acceptable language behaviour in certain situations only. Language proficiency should not be confused with what is called linguistic competence; the latter is a set of logical operations which can be used for the projection of grammatical knowledge in a higher-level cognitive analysis; thus it is not part of language proficiency but a cognitive ability above it.

One of the most interesting and problematic sections of the model is the interrelationship between the 'lexicon' and 'grammar'. Marslen-Wilson and Welsh (1978:58) suggest that each lexical memory item (or 'word') could be defined as an intersection of a cluster of procedures operating over a range of cognitive dimensions (cf. Morton 1979 and Ellis 1979). An appropriate access code activates the entire range of processing procedures. In this way, a 'word' activates certain frequent and prefabricated phrases, word combinations, certain grammatical constraints, selectional restrictions, certain semantic concepts and fields, etc. (cf. Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976). This may lead to a reversal of the relative importance of what is called grammar and lexicon. From the processing point of view, 'words' are, perhaps, primary, and the language 'machine' is not after all entirely dissimilar to what is called a finite state grammar by Chomsky in Syntactic Structures (1957) simply viewed from a different angle. It must be remembered that the term 'word' is used here as a label for something which is much more than a 'word': it means a lexical item which includes all the information concerning its use in sentences and its relationships to other words. Metalinguistic knowledge is seriously handicapped by formal teaching, and it may be that entire language proficiency is in fact embedded in the memory in the form of such lexical items. The individual is unable to perceive consciously the processes involved; what he perceives are the final choices and not the processes that result in the ultimate perception.

There is some evidence of the fact that succesful language acquirers (in natural settings) are more concerned with communication than with form (see, eg., Fillmore 1976), and caretakers pay attention to children's messages and not to their grammar (see Snow and Ferguson (eds.) 1977, Waterson and Snow (eds.) 1978). Since learning the L2 means an expansion of communicative potential to the area of another code, the learner's role requires more attention. Recent literature on second language acquisition (see Hatch 1977, Hakuta and Cancino 1977) is mainly concerned with learners acquiring language in natural settings, and there is very little new data about foreign languages in formal classroom settings. In some recent work on how people acquire second languages, a distinction has been made between conscious language learning (the memorizing of rules) and unconscious acquisition, which results from exposure to the target language, in a similar way to first language acquisition (see Krashen 1978, Bialystok 1978, d'Anglejan 1978). There seem to be two extremes: at one end we have total acquisition which results in native-like performance without any L1 influence, and, at the other end, a language system is found which is based entirely on the explicit memorizing of rules, sufficient for the production of acceptable L2 strings under favourable circumstances (cf. Sajavaara 1978). Adults may acquire a great deal of information about the language they are studying but they may also acquire an ability to use that language for communication in a way that resembles the acquisition of the first language. Acquisition is possible without conscious learning and learning does not necessarily lead to acquisition. In formal teaching and learning situations, an important part may be played by material which is acquired by learners without it being overtly taught, or in spite of teaching. Overtly formulated grammatical rules may be necessary for acceptable communication in the classroom but practices of this kind are not easily transferable outside the classroom (Lamendella 1979). In this way, learners may internalize an immense body of information about the language but they lack the ability to make use of this information in natural settings. Krashen (eg. 1978) explains this as a function of his Monitor (see also Davies in this volume) but, in a more general frame of reference, it results from the interplay of the conscious and subconscious strata of the information-processing mechanism described as the third dimension in Figure 1.

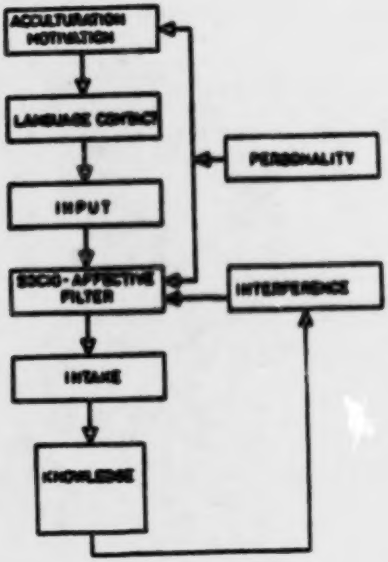

ACCULTURATION MOTIVATION
LANGUAGE CONTACT
PERSONALITY
INPUT
SOCIO-AFFECTIVE FILTER
INTERFERENCE
INTAKE
KNOWLEDGE

Figure 2. A model of language learning and acquisition processes

Figure 2 is a simplified model of certain processes and parameters in language acquisition. Language contact - a teacher's model is not always sufficient - is necessary for input, and intake is regulated by the socio-affective filter, which for its part is controlled by various social and personality factors, on the one hand, and the existing knowledge about the language and languages and the world, on the other. The filter can be opened by integrating the learner both psychologically and socially into the target group as much as possible. The importance of the mother tongue may be greater here than has been assumed, because if it is assumed that competence is a superior skill lying beyond the level of proficiency, a great deal of what is important in communication can obviously be transferred from this competence which has been acquired in connection with the acquisition of the mother tongue. It is particularly important to remember that both the conscious and subconscious perception of what makes part of the world including language is governed by previous experiences. What is taken in is processed through a device where existing knowledge is a kind of yardstick.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

d'Anglejan, A. 1978. Language Learning In and Out of Classrooms, in J.C. Richards (ed.), *Understanding Second and Foreign Language Learning*, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 218-236.

Bialystok, E. 1978. A Theoretical Model of Second Language Learning, *Language Learning* 28, 69-83.

Buckingham, H., and H. Hollien 1978. A Neural Model for Language and Speech, *Journal of Phonetics* 6, 283-297.

Carroll, J.M., and T.G. Bever 1976. Sentence Comprehension, in E.C. Carterette and M.P. Friedman (eds.), *Handbook of Perception*, Vol. 7, *Language and Speech*, New York: Academic Press, 300-344.

Carroll, J.M., M.K. Tanenhaus, and T.G. Bever 1978. The Perception of Relations: the Interaction of Structural, Functional, and Contextual Factors in the Segmentation of Sentences, in Levelt and Flores d'Arcais (eds.) 1978, 187-218.

Chomsky, N. 1957. *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.

Clark, H.H., and E.V. Clark 1977. *Psychology and Language*. New York: Harcourt.

Davis, S.M. 1978. Audition and Speech Perception, in R.L. Schiefelbusch (ed.), *Bases of Language Intervention*, Baltimore, Md.: University Park Press,

Ellis, A.W. 1979. Speech Production and Short-Term Memory, in Morton and Marshall (eds.) 1979, 157-187.

Fillmore, L.W. 1976. *The Second Time Around: Cognitive and Social Strategies in Second Language Acquisition*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Stanford University.

Flores d'Arcais, G.B. 1978. The Perception of Complex Sentences, in Levelt and Flores d'Arcais (eds.) 1978, 155-186.

Gingras, R.C. (ed.) 1978. *Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching*. Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Hakuta, K., and H. Cancino 1977. Trends in Second-Language-Acquisition Research, *Harvard Educational Review* 47, 294-316.

Hatch, E. 1977. Second Language Learning, in *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives/Linguistics*, Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 60-86.

Krashen, S.D. 1978. The Monitor Model for Second-Language Acquisition, in Gingras (ed.) 1978, 1-26.

Lamendella, J. 1979. The Neurofunctional Basis of Pattern Practice, *TESOL Quarterly* 13, 5-19.

Lehtonen, J. 1978. The Theory and Methodology of Speech Science and Contrastive Analysis. Paper Read at the 16th International Conference on Polish-English Contrastive Linguistics, Boszkowo, 1978. Forthcoming.

Lehtonen, J., and K. Sajavaara (eds.). *Papers in Contrastive Phonetics*. Jyväskylä Cross-Language Studies 7. Jyväskylä: Department of English, University of Jyväskylä.

Levelt, W.J.M., and G.B. Flores d'Arcais (eds.) 1978. *Studies in the Perception of Language*. New York: Wiley.

Lindsay, P.H., and D.A. Norman1977. *Human Information Processing*. New York: Academic Press.

Marslen-Wilson, W.D., and A. Welsh 1978. Processing Interaction and Lexical Access during Word Recognition in Continuous Speech, *Cognitive Psychology* 10, 29-63.

Marslen-Wilson, W.D., L.K. Tyler, and M. Seidenberg 1978. Sentence Processing and the Clause Boundary, in Levelt and Flores d'Arcais (eds.) 1978, 219-246.

Miller, G.A., and P.N. Johnson-Laird 1976. *Language and Perception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morton, J. 1979. Word Recognition, in Morton and Marshall (eds.) 1979, 107-156.

Morton, J., and J.C. Marshall (eds.) 1979. *Structures and Processes*. Psycholinguistic Series 2. London: Paul Elek.

Nawrocka-Fisiak, J. 1977. Kielenopetuksen viimeaikaisia kehityssuuntia, in K. Sajavaara (ed.), *AFinLA:n vuosikirja 1977*, Suomen soveltavan kielitieteen yhdistyksen (AFinLA) julkaisuja 20, Helsinki: AFinLA, 9-18.

Sajavaara, K. 1978. The Monitor Model and Monitoring in Foreign-Language Speech Communication, in Gingras (ed.) 1978, 51-67.

Sajavaara, K., and J. Lehtonen 1979. *Prisoners of Code-Centred Privacy: Reflections on Contrastive Linguistics and Related Disciplines*. Paper Read at the First Nordic Interlanguage Symposium, Hanasaari, Espoo, 1979. Forthcoming.

Snow, C., and C.A. Ferguson (eds.) 1977. *Talking to Children*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waterson, N., and C. Snow (eds.) 1978. *The Development of Communication*. New York: Wiley.

ON THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN SECOND-LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND FOREIGN-LANGUAGE LEARNING

HAKAN RINGBOM
Abo Akademi

Three different, though closely related distinctions are made in applied linguistics today: the distinctions between language acquisition and language learning, between guided and unguided discovery, and between second-language acquisition (or learning) and foreign-language learning. The main difference between these three distinctions is that acquisition and learning refer to the learning process inside the learner, the degree of consciousness with which he learns,[1] whereas the other two refer to the prevailing situation in which learning takes place rather than to the learner himself. The distinction between guided and unguided discovery refers to the teacher's role, in that guided discovery entails some sort of teaching, in a classroom or by self-study whereby the learner is exposed to organized material, whereas the unguided discoverer is exposed to random samples of the language, on the basis of which he constructs his own hypotheses. The distinction between second-language acquisition (SLA) and foreign-language learning (FLL) also focuses on the prevailing learning situation, not directly on the learning process itself. Different criteria have been used for the distinction and they have been reviewed in a recent paper by Seshadri and Allen.

Should this distinction focus on the learner's community or on the individual learner and his immediate environment? In my view, the distinction between second-language acquisition and foreign-language learning is not a happy one, if it is made on the basis of "the political status of a language in a country and its functional role in the community."[2] This type of distinction only leads to a generalized description of the status of a language in a country, and the result may be quite misleading from the individual learner's point of view. Thus, Swedish in Finland is frequently taken as an example of a second language because of its official status.

---

[1] For the distinction between acquisition and learning, see various papers by Krashen, e.g. 1978. Cf. also Sajavaara 1979.

[2] Seshadri and Allen 1979: 67.

Yet, to most Finns Swedish is no less foreign than English or German. Only in (most of) the coastal areas is Swedish really a second language in Finland in the sense that there are people who speak Swedish in natural communication situations. The inevitable conclusion is that to Finnish learners Swedish is either a foreign or a second language (or, in some cases, indeed something between the two) depending on the particular environment where the learner happens to live. To disregard this fact by saying that Swedish is either a second language or a foreign language in Finland, full stop, shows a neglect of the individual learner which is not justifiable.

Unlike Paul Christophersen, then, who maintains[3] that the distinction between 'second' and 'foreign' becomes clearer if it is seen in relation not to the individual speaker but to the whole community of speakers, I believe that a generalization about the community confuses the issue, since it is a misguided attempt to put the same label on learners who may be in entirely different situations. My example of Swedish in Finland is, of course, not unique. There are countries with even more complex linguistic make-ups, like Switzerland, which even more blatantly defy simplistic definitions based on the official status of languages. We simply have to focus on the individual learner and his learning situation, since the status of a language as an official language affects different learners in entirely different ways.

Another criterion which has occasionally been used is level of achievement, but this certainly seems wholly inadequate. Second-language learners do not automatically reach a higher level of competence than foreign-language learners. There are too many other important variables that are relevant for success in learning.

However, I should not go as far as Seshadri and Allen. They maintain (1979:69) that the distinction between foreign language and second language actually has no basis in empirical fact. As long as we focus on the individual learner and not the community, there surely are differences between the two, differences to be sought in the context in which the individual learner learns the language. The basic issue, which is whether the language he learns is spoken in his immediate environment or not, might be summed up as follows:

In a second-language acquisition situation the language is spoken in the immediate environment of the learner, who has good opportunities to use the language by participating in natural communication situations. Second-language acquisition may, or may not, be supplemented by classroom teaching.

---

[3] Christopherzen 1973: 30.

In a foreign-language learning situation the language is not spoken in the immediate environment of the learner, although mass media may provide opportunities for practicing the receptive skills. The learner has little or no opportunity to use the language in natural communication situations.

Needless to say, and as in linguistics generally, a dual distinction is an oversimplification. Two points on a scale are selected to illustrate opposites, where in actual fact there is a continuum. But my distinction is not intended to be hard and fast, and there are certainly borderline cases. In a bilingual community one language may be spoken only by a minority and would therefore be infrequently heard. In such cases learners even in the same classroom may differ a great deal from one another, depending on their contacts with the language being learnt. Some, often the majority, might be foreign-language learners, others second-language learners (or acquirers), but a few borderline cases would probably occur as well. In Table 1 I have outlined what these situational differences are between foreign-language learning and second-language acquisition, and Table 2 will show the effect of these differences on variables pertaining to the individual.

TABLE 1. Situational Differences between SLA and FLL.

Variable	SLA	FLL
1. Time	More time is spent on acquisition.	Less time can be spent on learning.
2. Input	Compared to FLL, the input is rich and varied. The learner is exposed to samples of language which are little organized.	The learner is exposed to highly structured, selected and sequenced input.
3. Teacher's role	Mainly unguided discovery: acquisition from peers, possibly supplemented by classroom teaching.	Guided discovery: the learning mainly takes place in artificial classroom situations and/or by study at home. Little or hardly any learning from peers.
4. Skills	A genuine need for oral communication exists: the oral skills are all-important. Comprehension of natural speech is particularly important from the very beginning.	The dependence on written material in an average classroom situation and the absence of a genuine need for communication make oral skills less important. The sequencing of skills depends on the

TABLE 2. Learner Differences

Variable	SLA	FLL
1. Motivation	Frequently integrative motivation because of genuine communicative need. Language is a key to social and cultural enrichment.	Mainly instrumental motivation (language is generally felt to be studied for an immediate short-term goal).
2. Activity and language shock	The learner is usually forced to be creative and active: he has to consider saliency, deciding on exactly what features of the input he selects for his intake. The burden of this and, in general, language shock[6] may put some learners off.	The learner's attitude to learning can be passive: saliency is largely decided by variables outside the learner (teacher, syllabus, method). Language shock is mitigated by gradual and limited input and by the simple nature of the communicative tasks the learner is required to perform.
3. Social and affective factors	Social and affective variables, esp. attitudes to the target language (which tend to reflect attitudes to speakers of that language) influence acquisition very strongly. The status, prestige and the extent of use of the target language are also important.[7]	Most social and affective factors lose at least some of their importance, since the learner is not involved in the same way as the SL-learner.
4 Age	Favourable for young learners, who may reach native competence and for whom exposure is all-important. Exposure alone is not sufficient for adults,[8] who may more easily neglect converting input to intake.	Adults are better able than children to profit from formal study.
5. L_1-background	Probably less L_1-transfer (positive and negative), especially in children, whose L_1-competence is less firmly rooted than in adults. A related L_1 helps a great deal, since the receptive skills are acquired quite quickly. The organizational problems[9] of beginning learners are fairly easily mastered by learners with a related L_1.	Probably more L_1-transfer, esp. in adults. A related L_1 helps, but not to the same extent as in SLA.[10]

---

[6] "... experiencing language shock ..., the learner is haunted by doubts as to whether his words accurately reflect his ideas. In addition, he is sometimes confronted with target language words and expressions which carry with them images and meanings which he interprets differently than do native speakers of the target language. Also, the narcissistic gratification to which the learner is accustomed in the use of his native language is lost when he attempts to speak the target language. Finally, when speaking the second language the learner has apprehensions about appearing comic, child-like and dependent." (Schumann 1976b, 402.)

[7] See Schumann 1975, Schumann 1976b.

[8] Cf. e.g. Krashen and Seliger 1975.

[9] Learners have basically two different types of problems, especially grammatical problems to cope with: organizational problems and choice problems. At the early stages of learning, they have little knowledge of how the other language is organized. They have not yet reached the stage of having choice problems, in the sense of choosing between well-defined and understandably organized alternatives, since this stage presupposes a basic knowledge of what alternatives to choose from. Cf. [illegible] 1980, Ringbom 1978b.

[10] See Ringbom 1978b, Ringbom 1980.

Variable	SLA	FLL
6. Learning process	Language acquired rather than learnt. Learners generally achieve automated skills[11] at least in some restricted registers. Learners tend to work on a trial-and-error basis, since they have good opportunities to test their hypotheses.	Learning is largely the result of conscious effort. Skills are not as easily automated. Limited time devoted to learning and fewer opportunities to practice make for less use of trial-and-error method.
7. Monitoring	Probably less monitoring[12] because of time pressure and the fact that feedback generally refers to content and communicative success/failure. Little feedback in the form of error correction.	Probably more monitoring because of the presence of frequent feedback in the form of error correction and rule isolation (one grammatical rule introduced at a time).
8. Result	Sufficient vocabulary for different communicative contexts more important than grammatical correctness. Language functions as a key to real social contacts: communicative competence generally achieved. Success or failure of acquisition often has social consequences for the learner.	In practice, linguistic competence rather than communicative competence is in the foreground. Grammar and correctness more stressed than possession of extensive vocabulary. Communicative competence is far from always achieved, even after several years of study. Not the same social consequences of success or failure in learning.
9. The good learner	Requirements: outgoing personality, strong desire to communicate, willing and accurate guesser. People who frequently initiate interactions with native speakers tend to be good learners, as opposed to those who basically speak only when spoken to.[13] Success measured by degree of naturalness and ability to cope in communicative situations.	General learning ability important (intelligence, patience, conscientiousness, memory). In practice, success often measured by the ability to pass tests, which is not the same as communicative competence.
10. Communicative strategies	Larger variety of communicative strategies[14] used, since the learner is frequently in situations where his competence is insufficient.	Not as many different communicative strategies used.

---

[11] See Levelt 1977.

[12] For the monitor model, see Krashen 1978 and Sajavaara 1978.

[13] Cf. Seliger 1977, who speaks about HIGs (High Input Generators) and LIGs (Low Input Generators), and Tarone 1979.

[14] See Tarone 1979.

Whenever we talk about language learning, the issue is complicated by the very large number of variables that affect it. Even within the second-language acquisition situation a great many differences exist, depending above all on whether the learner is a migrant to another country or learns the language in his own familiar, bilingual environment. Yet another situation is found in the learning of English (or French) in multilingual states which were former colonies of Britain or France, and where English or French, though not the mother tongue of any group within the country, still has an internal social function.

Situational variables are not the only type of variables; there are also learner variables. And there is, of course, a considerable influence of these situational variables on the learners. In Table 2 I have tentatively outlined how the learner and the learning process might be affected by the situational differences between foreign-language learning and second-language acquisition. The foreign-language learning situation has here been generalized to refer to the normal classroom situation in countries such as Finland, where teaching in practice certainly tends to focus on linguistic competence rather than communicative competence.

Oversimplification is inevitable when complex matters are presented in table form, but the necessary elaboration and clarification of these issues (what is, after all, "intelligence", for example?) would require a much wider framework than the present. Nevertheless, I shall have achieved my aim if I have been able to persuade my readers that the distinction between second-language acquisition and foreign-language learning is an important one, and that this distinction should be made on the basis of how the different learning situations affect learners differently.

Since, at least for young learners, second-language acquisition produces better results than foreign-language learning, an obvious question is what foreign-language learning might gain from second-language acquisition. An answer which has been given many times before and which was also given in Norman Davies's paper at this conference is that the teaching should create more meaningful communicative activities, intake-rich environments in Krashen's terms.[4] This, of course, is not the same as automatically generalizing results achieved in investigations of second-language acquisition so as to apply to foreign-language learning situations and vice versa. Such generalizations are very dangerous. In language learning we have to consider so many different interlinking variables that linguists must control their desire to generalize their own or other scholars' results by applying them to a wider content than the limited number of learners that can be investigated in one research project.

---

[4] Krashen 1978: 20.

[5] I am grateful to Kari Sajavaara for a number of helpful comments on this paper. Roger Sell and three participants in the conference, Nils Erik Enkvist, Kjell Madsen and Kay Wikberg, also gave valuable comments on some of the points touched upon.

In this paper I have emphasized the differences between second-language acquisition and foreign-language learning and have not dealt with the similarities that also undoubtedly exist. The differences I have outlined may not produce entirely different learning processes in these two types of learners (some element of acquisition will also be present in the foreign-language learning situation, for example), but they influence the learners in different ways, so that one group of learners tend to show common individual deviations from a general learning pattern which the other group lacks. The emphasis I have placed on the individual and on the large number of variables relevant to the learning process stresses the fact that each learner is to some extent unique in his learning of another language. Today, when supposedly universal aspects so often are in the foreground of linguistic research, this uniqueness needs to be stressed. It is, needless to say, nothing new to the experienced language teacher.[5]

Bibliography

Christophersen, Paul 1973. *Second-Language Learning. Myth and Reality*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Education.

Galanter, Eugene 1966. *Textbook of Elementary Psychology*. San Francisco: Holden-Day Inc.

Krashen, Stephen D. 1978. Relating Theory and Practice in Adult Second Language Acquisition. Paper read at the Lackland Air Force, San Antonio Texas, May 1 1978, Defense Language Institute.

Krashen, Stephen D., and Herbert W. Seliger 1975. The Essential Contributions of Formal Instruction in Adult Second Language Learning, *TESOL Quarterly* 9, 173-83.

Levelt, W.J.M. 1977. Skill Theory and Language Teaching, *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 1, 53-70.

Ringbom, Håkan 1978a. On Learning Related and Unrelated Languages, *Moderna Språk* 72, 21-25.

DEFENSIVE SPEECH
or
CAN WE USE SPEECH ACTS IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION? *)

JACOB MEY
Odense University
Rasmus Rask Institute of Linguistics

Introduction: What's in a speech act?

Let me begin by telling a story. For some years now, I have had a friend who, whenever he writes something, sends a copy to me with the admonition to "have fun reading". It was only recently that I discovered the true meaning of this, at least to me, ununderstandable and even somewhat irritating formula: namely when I was confronted with its German equivalent *Viel Spass beim Lesen*. The latter expression is used as a sort of self-desultory excuse for being so arrogant as to believe that other people really are interested in what you write, and clearly this is what my friend, being German, wished to convey. However, what the English "translation" of this expression actually did get across was something quite different. An English native speaker, thus admonished, might reply by uttering something like: *Maybe you should leave that for me to decide*.

So, something went wrong here. And there are other cases, too. Thus, Americans may become irritated at Europeans wishing them a "Good appetite", whenever they start out eating. Or vice versa, Europeans may object to Americans (and other people) uttering phrases like *(God) bless you* (or the like) when they sneeze. I myself have been in the situation where I had to run for a quiet sneezing corner whenever I felt the urge, just to avoid our Brooklyn baby sitter's eternal blessings. Ever since, I have felt that getting your sneeze frustrated in this way is about the worst cross-cultural punishment that anybody could invent.

What, then, can we learn from these stories? They tell us something about the pragmatics of routine formulae (see Coulmas 1979), as well as about their cross-cultural untranslatability (see Schlieben-Lange and

---

*) Extracts from Joseph Heller, *Good as Gold*, by kind permission from the publishers, Simon and Schuster, New York, N.Y.

Weydt 1979). They also tell us something about speech acts in general. While it has been more or less universally (but implicitly) understood that we can talk about speech acts across languages, so to speak *semantically*, the *pragmatics* of speech acts present quite a different picture. From a purely semantic point of view, the main question is *what* people say (the propositional content of an utterance). In a pragmatic framework, the question is rather: given a particular content, given a particular culture and a particular historical background, what can these particular speakers say to fit into the picture, so to speak? In the case of the routine formula, it is clearly the context that determines the speakers' and hearers' possibilities of interaction; but even in cases where one traditionally assigns unlimited degrees of freedom to linguistic interaction, it would be wise to keep in mind the pragmatic conditions of "cause and effect". By this I mean that the "history" on an utterance is just as important as the effect it has, in determining its *pragmatic* content: what an utterance really expresses is a function of both the speaker's and the hearer's possibilities of expressing and understanding, in time and space. The frustration of not being able to use an obligatory routine formula (such as *tack för maten* in Swedish) when confronted with another cultural setting thus points up the *situational* character of speech acts in general.

Language teaching or linguistic education?

The concept of the *situation* as the locus of an utterance's pragmatic possibilities will turn out to be an important one in the following. However, before I proceed, I want to make this concept a little more precise. It is true that the situation *restricts* the possibilities for people's understanding each other, both historically and with respect to effective communication, as we have seen above. But on the other hand, there would be no understanding, and communication would be totally ineffective, without the situational setting in which communication takes place. Furthermore, inasmuch as communication *is* effective, it affects the situation itself: the only way to change a situation is to start out communicating about it. All communicational situations are thus both restrictive and expansive, both mundane and utopian. In this way the *effective* use of language is intimately connected with the notion of acting linguistically in a given situation: this, in fact, is what *speech acts* (albeit not exclusively) are all about.

In the next section, I will dwell in more detail upon the importance of the various speech acts in this connection. Here, I want to bring up the problem of what it means to learn a language effectively. Contrary to the more traditional view which stresses the importance of being able to produce and utter correct sentences, I would posit that using a language effectively, and hence, learning it effectively, involves at least two aspects:

(a) being able to express oneself, and
(b) acting upon one's surroundings.

While (a) has more to do with the traditional idea of language as a means of self-expression by individuals and their relationships with the World (a more descriptive aspect, with a great deal of emphasis on the idea of correctness, as can be expected), (b) expresses a belief in the power of language - and nothing wrong in that, of course, but we have to be careful both in our description of, and in our dealings with that power, since the notion has been vastly misused. One could also say that (a) emphasizes the individual's self-realization and, as such, is essentially limited as to the boundaries of its descriptive ambitions, whereas (b) implies that we are able to change our world in accordance with our ideas (as expressed in and through language), and thus emphasizes the use of language in its unlimited aspect: speech acts as a social utopia.

It is for these reasons that I prefer to call the learning of a language an education: to wit, a linguistic education. Language is not just a product, ready made, to be acquired by a new owner just like a hand-me-down piece of clothing from the racks at Sears Roebuck: language is a process, towards which and in which one is initiated, and indeed, educated for the length of one's life, but of course most intensively so during the periods when one receives formal language training. My purpose is to unveil some of the less favorable traits of this process, and to ask what we can do about them.

The important art of conversation

First, we have to find out how people actually go about using their linguistic competences in communicating with each other. I will not discuss the technical notions of linguistic vs. communicative competence, but just ask a very simple-minded question: Given the two aspects of effective language use that I mentioned in the previous section, self-expression and world-acting, how do people go about using their language? More specifically, one could ask: what linguistic means do people use to express themselves and to act upon their surroundings, and what are the typical situations in which such means are being used?

It seems fairly obvious that the kind of linguistic activity most people are engaged in most of the time is *conversation*. By this I do not exclusively mean polished dialog taking place among highly educated people in very specific surroundings (such as the 18th-century literary *salon*) but, far more generally, informal communicative action happening whenever people meet in everyday situations. Clearly, there are everyday situations that do not depend on, or are circumscribed by, this kind of interaction: ordering one's food in a restaurant, presenting an argument in court, addressing a public meeting, or even giving instructions to a computer are all instances of communicative action by means of language. But they are not as *common*, in all senses of the word, as "normal" conversation: common to most people, common in time and place.

It follows logically from the above that conversation is an important part of human linguistic activity, and that the specific acts occurring in conversational situations deserve to be examined carefully, especially with regard to our overall point of view: linguistic education. However, skimming through the literature on speech acts of the past decades, one may easily get the impression that most linguists do not seem to share my view of conversation's importance as a linguistic activity. Only recently, and mainly due to impulses from outside linguistics proper, has the study of conversation come into its own (see my Preface to Coulmas 1980). In general, the study of speech acts has taken its starting point in the observation and description of certain, well-defined and narrowly circumscribed activities such as ordering, promising, judging, rather than in the study of the situations in which such activities take place, among others, or of communicative situations in general. I would maintain that there is something basically wrong in this: it is like trying to balance a triangle on its apex rather than resting it on its base. A balanced look at speech activity should reverse the perspective, and start out looking at things from the other end, viz. the situational one, and ask: What kinds of linguistic activity happen in the most common communicative situation of all, ie. conversation? And the next question will be: What has all this got to do with linguistic education?

From a more technical point ov view, conversational situations naturally have a beginning as well as an end; moreover, conversations, as the word itself implies, proceed in turns, different speakers gaining and yielding the floor according to certain rules. Often, these openings and closings, as well as turn-takings, are subject to standardized procedures, conversational routines, as one might call them. Here, I do not want to dwell upon the outer framework of the conversational situation; let me, instead, refer to the extensive literature on this subject (e.g. Sacks and Schegloff 1973; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974; Coulmas 1979; Coulmas (ed.) 1980).

As to the inner organization of conversational situations, one could ask whether speech acts occur in any significant pattern, and if yes, which. Off-hand, one could point to the fact that certain speech acts seem to be more common in "normal" conversation than others: thus, judgments, commands, and even promises are acts that are bound up with specific surroundings and hence underlie the specific conditions determining the societal character of the situation. A judge, for instance, will not normally, in the course of a dinner table conversation, produce a speech act of "judging", or even be able to pronounce a technically and legally valid judgment. Even promises that are made during casual conversation, for instance at a cocktail party, will not be considered binding.[1] And so on.

Among the more neutral (and hence more common) kinds of speech activity in conversational situations I would mention questions and answers (either as a means of getting information, or maybe as a conversational game), the statement (either about oneself, or in general, about things one has experienced; story-telling is a very common conversational practice) and, of course, the asking for, and obtaining, of social affirmation (giving and taking emotional "strokes", as it is often called; see Berne 1968). But before we set out discussing the potential value of these and other speech acts in linguistic education, we have to spend a few moments thinking about how and why speech acts are important in language training situations - or are they?

The insufficiencies of speech act theory in linguistic education

Apart from its theoretical postulates, speech act theory distinguishes itself by providing us with a handy taxonomy. Being able to put some order into the things people can do to each other using language is of course a useful thing, and there is nothing wrong with taxonomies as such (see Haberland and Mey 1979:218). But if you want the camel, you must also will the hump, and the latter may well turn out to be the major obstacle in swallowing the former. The hump, of course, is the theory. While some authors readily avail themselves of the taxonomical advantages of speech act theory, fewer will be willing to subscribe to the theory itself, especially if they are trying to work inside a more or less *pragmatical* framework (as an instance, cf. Haltoft and Påby 1979).

---

[1] The following extract from Good as Gold by Joseph Heller can serve as an illustration:
<Gold has just had lunch with his older brother Sid - a rare occasion indeed. Sid says:>
"This was nice, kid."
"It was, Sid, and let's repeat it soon," said Gold, feeling absolutely certain they would never have lunch together again. (1979:272.)

Speech acting, as a human activity, is bound by the pragmatics of human acting in general. Pragmatics focuses on the conditions that determine the exercise of speech acts. By this I do not mean the *abstract* conditions postulated by authors such as Habermas (e.g., 1976) and often called *transcendental* in the philosophical sense of: without which something is epistemologically and ontologically impossible. (Note, however, that the only things philosophers rightfully can claim are impossible are those that they consider *unthinkable*; thus we still are in the abstract universe of notions.) Furthermore, these transcendental conditions are usually formulated in a negative, even counterfactual way: for ideal communication to happen, such and such conditions have to be met; however, they are not met, so communication is not ideal, far from it, which is what we all knew in the first place. (For a more detailed criticism of these "transcendental" conditions, see Mey 1980a.)

But what is the alternative to positing abstract, transcendental conditions for speech activity? Or, in other words, what do I mean when I say that human speech activity is determined by *pragmatic*, i.e. concrete, rather than abstract, conditions? As I said above, the pragmatic viewpoint is, in a way, a reversal of the traditional speech act perspective: rather than isolating a particular type of speech act from its context, we study the context, in the widest sense of the term, and ask: What kind of speech activity can fit these concrete circumstances?

To take an example. My son has borrowed my hammer and left it out in the yard, where it has been lying around in the snow for a couple of days. When I finally find it, all rusty and messy, I raise the usual stink, make the usual threats, maybe even actually put that lock on the tool-box I have been mumbling about for months now. Now, suppose my son says that he promises never to take my hammer out of the tool-box again without asking me first, how should I characterize this kind of linguistic activity on his part?

Clearly, as a father and a tool-box owner, I would prefer to take his utterance (prompted or not) as a promise. But the pragmatical aspect of the situation that I am stressing here would be more germane to an interpretation of his speech act "promise" as: using language in order to get out of an unpleasant situation. There are other ways, of course: my son may deny that he has had anything to do with the hammer's removal from the tool-box, he may accuse his sisters of having used the hammer and not replaced it, and so on. But that is not the point. The point is, rather, that we have to do with a pragmatically defined use of language: what do I want to obtain, what can I obtain by my speech activity or, generally speaking, what are the things we can do to each other using words?

To give a satisfactory answer to this question, I would need much more space than I have at my disposal here; let me, therefore, refer the reader to what I have written elsewhere on the subject (Mey 1980b). In the particular context of this contribution, however, it is important to repeat that the pragmatic conditions for speech activity determine the individual speech acts, and not vice versa. Trying to describe individual speech acts, e.g . promises, without taking these conditions into account will result in quasi-universalistic characteristics of the kind that one frequently encounters in the literature on speech acts, such as an (abstract) sincerity condition, an equally abstract essential condition, etc. (cf. Searle 1969: 60). Conversely, the indirect effect of such abstract theorizing on the concrete speech acting situation will be that certain aspect of language use remain veiled, and that a potential contribution towards unveiling of manipulatory language use is not forthcoming.

The next section will dwell more extensively on manipulation in language use, especially in the context of linguistic education.

Conversation and manipulation

I said above that most of our "normal" linguistic acting happens in conversational situations. Conversation seems for most people to be the place where all can meet, linguistically speaking: can't we all make "small talk", and why shouldn't a boss be able to discuss the weather with his foreman?

Apart from the fact that such seemingly innocent conversations may conceal manipulatory aspects in themselves (on this, see Mey 1980a, where I attack the notion commonly referred to as "Karlfeldt's principle", due to Allwood 1976:153, 240), I will maintain that there are a number of situations where so-called conversation is called upon to fill a manipulatory function. In particular, I have two cases in mind:

(a) the interview, and

(b) the school instruction.

On the *interview* as a fake conversation, see Mey (1980b), especially ch. 1.2., where I argue that the conversational aspect of the interview only serves to mask its really manipulatory character: a "good" interview is not one in which information is obtained, statements are made, or even a good emotional atmosphere is created, but preferably one that makes the interviewees look like a fool or makes them say something scandalous.

As to the *school* scene, the subtitle of Heltoft and Påby (1979) reminds us precisely of the conversational aspect that I had in mind above: "instruction as conversation" (Danish: "undervisning som samtale"). Again, the point is that the educational situation is not, by any means, *real* conversation, but rather manipulatory activity, using language under the veil of the conversational situation. And since conversation is the most common and neutral linguistic activity of all, the participants in this pseudo-conversation are cut off from their normal, anti-manipulatory resources.

I will illustrate my claim by pointing to two aspects of "teaching as conversation" that highlight its manipulatory function. The first is what I will call the *game* aspect; the second has to do with *choice* and dominance.

First, then, instruction as a game. Again, let me underscore my point by quoting Heltoft and Påby (1979). Not only do they call the instructional situation a conversation (*samtale*), but they look at it expressly as a *game*, and the name of the game is *Tampen brænder* ("You're getting close", a common children's game), which also is the title of their book. What happens in this game is the following: The teacher has something in mind which the pupils are supposed to guess (and reproduce). The teacher encourages the "correct" responses to his/her questions, and helps the pupils along by scattering cues all through the classroom "conversation". Getting "closer" means, for the pupils, approaching the more or less hidden goal: what the teacher may have in mind. The statements, questions, and other conversational acts that the teacher and the pupils are engaged in can be said to be not only *leading* but even more, and more correctly, *led*, i.e. steered, by the teacher's hidden manoeuvring. So, despite the subtitle, Heltoft and Påby's book provides ample evidence that teaching is *not* any form of real conversation, and that the corresponding speech activity should be viewed from the angle of "getting closer" and not from that of the individual speech acts (which, nertheless, is their explicitly stated frame of reference). In fact, what is most important in the classroom situation are precisely the manipulatory possibilities of this kind of pseudo-conversation: not use of language as such, but manipulation through the use of language, among other things. It is the whole scene, the whole situation, that is subject to being manipulated by the efficient teacher; rather than just classroom *language*, we should study the classroom *day* in its entirety.[1]

The other manipulatory aspect of the school situation that I want to comment briefly on is the matter of *choice*. Under this heading I want to group such things as:

- Who chooses the (next) speaker(s)?
- Who chooses the topics that are talked about in the classroom "conversation"?
- Who decides on the length of his/her own vs. others' contributions?
- Who decides on the choice of the teaching materials and so on?

As an example of the latter, consider the current varieties of textbooks in mother-tongue and foreign-language instruction. The topics brought up and used as teaching material have to do with one particular view of life: the middle class universe, where well-to-do, streamlined people live secluded lives far from the turmoil and struggles of the real world. I have looked through several of my children's textbooks in foreign-language instruction, as well as their readers in Danish: they all present the same picture, as do the texts used in teaching second languages to immigrants (on the latter, see especially May 1980b, ch. 2.2). To take a random example from the foreign-language textbooks at grade school level: Lund and Heinsen's *Auf Deutsch, bitte* (München: Hueber 1976) contains thirty-odd lessons that are formed partly as descriptions of events, partly as dialogs around these events. What seemingly is in the center of the people occupying the Lund/Heinsen universe is cars and money. Not only is the car a necessary prerequisite for participating in the different activities described (camping trips, witnessing accidents on the Autobahn and in the mountains, following bank robbers, etc.), but it looms also very large in people's consciousness: a lot is talked about cars and driving, different makes, prices, etc. As to the money consciousness: the people in *Auf Deutsch, bitte* are constantly worrying about where their money is going to come from, they are very interested in financial operations of all kinds (robbing banks, getting rewards, winning in the lotteries, doing extra jobs as film dummies, helping the police, etc.).

---

[1] This is an allusion to another Danish study of language use in the school (*Projekt Skolesprog*). When the authors published their results in a final report, they called it *School Days* (Hermann et al. 1979), thus marking off a certain distance from the original title of the project itself and its linguistic emphasis. For an excellent review of both of the Danish "school language" projects, see Chaudron (1980).

The manipulatory aspects of this kind of "conversation" become clear when one considers that there is no possibility of a real discussion: the question why things happen is never raised, and the only thing we can talk about is that they happen, and what their foreign language equivalents may be. Rather than teaching the art of translation, these texts practise an unconscious culture transfer, where the topics are brought up descriptively only, and where the description presupposes a wholesale acceptance on the part of the students. Thus, for instance, no real questions can be asked, even supposing that controversial subjects were brought up - which, of course, is never the case. This hidden manipulation on the part of the school system and, through it, of the teacher, makes the speech activity that chracterizes this kind of "conversation" into something that is pragmatically very different from "normal" conversation. In language classes, as in other instructional situations, you do not answer questions: you guess what the teacher, or the textbook, expects you to answer. The language class is not primarily a situation of language instruction and language learning, but of reinforcing adequate social behavior through the use of language. It is from this pragmatic point of view that one should try and define the various speech activities that take place.

Speech-act based language instruction, or:

How not to manipulate in teaching

Speech acts outside and without their contexts can be dangerous, especially in the classroom, as we have seen. The reason that it is so easy to manipulate using speech acts is that the conditions of context for proper use can easily be abstracted away: what results is a seemingly "neutral" situation that becomes normative for "proper" use. What we are doing when working with this pseudo-neutral context (as in the case of class-room "conversation") is masking the true character of the pertinent speech act, veiling its pragmatic boundness to the conditions that govern both the hearers and the speakers by assigning them a place in society.

As an example, take again the speech act question. Clearly, questions are very different depending on whether they occur inside a normal conversation, an interview, or a university examination. While the interview question in many cases is a trap, the exam question is more like a Laingian "knot": when asked a question, the examinee knows that the examiner knows the answer that the latter does not know whether the former knows.

Another example is the promise. We already talked about the sincerity condition and its seemingly neutral, universal character. However, a "binding" promise can be something very different from culture to culture, and even inside the same language one finds vastly different interpretations of this concept (see Schlieben-Lange and Weydt 1979:271).

So, when Heltoft and Føby (1979:21) without further discussion settle for the formal speech act as the basis for their classification of language use in the classroom, I must confess that I have grown doubts: it is precisely the form of a speech act such as the question that helps veil the manipulatory aspects of its use.

For manipulation to be successful, it is important that it be not unveiled as such. The best way to thwart a person's manipulatory intentions is to reveal them. Of course this is not a sufficient condition: many people must by now know that they are being manipulated by their politicians, and still do not act; but it is certainly mandatory to know that you are being had before you can start to do anything about it.

Unfortunately, there are not, at present, many ways for the well-meaning teacher to get around the manipulatory obstacles and devices that the school system, as an extension of our society, puts in the path of teaching and learning. However, recently there has been a growing insight in the nature of these obstructions, especially in the area of adult second-language instruction. A textbook like Feridun (Augustin et al. 1977) has as its expressed aim to be non-manipulatory in the sense that it tries to make sense of West Germany's Turkish immigrants' problems by putting them into their proper context of cultural transfer, even shock: thus, it is a book of instruction "not only for Turks", as the subtitle has it. The acquisition of German should therefore not be seen as an isolated, not even maybe as the primary, goal of the "language education" classes for adult immigrants that are organized at official or semi-private levels in the Federal Republic of Germany.[1]

Another alternative might be to counter the manipulatory techniques used in school instruction situations using the same techniques in reverse. A kind of counter-manipulation, so to speak. This is where what I have called "defensive speech acts" come in. A defense against a manipulatory question may consist in an evasive answer, or an answer that is not an answer at all, although it looks like one (cf. above, where we discussed questions that were not real questions, despite their appearance). It seems important that people learn to protect their privacies against prying official and non-official news-seekers: the question here would be how to make a statement without being manipulated into revealing something that you do not want to reveal. Equally important is the ability to refuse: how to say "No" without really saying it (because the circumstances may be such that a "No" would entail sanctions of some kind). I am sure that all these uses of language can be taught, and that they are as useful, or even more so, than what young and old persons usually go through in language programs. One might object that such practices have nothing to do with changing the society in which we live, and I must of course admit that this objection holds far too much water for my convenience. On the other hand, there is the old saying of driving out Beelzebub with Beelzebub's help; if one does not like Scripture as an authority, here is a quote from Good as Gold, once more, which I think can serve as an illustration of what I am trying to get across, as well as of the certainly unpleasant connotations of the concept of counter-manipulation:

---

[1] It ought to be added that such classes are the exception rather than the rule: according to Rieck and Senft (1979:97), "In 1977, special courses for only 10 000 immigrants (that corresponds to ca. 0.6 % of foreign workers) were financed by state grants."

> <The interlocutors in the following scene are Ralph Newsome, a high government official, who has promised Gold a job in the administration, and Gold himself>.
> "Ralph," said Gold, with skepticism predominating again over a multitude of other concerns, "do you ever really see the President?"
> "Oh, yes, Bruce," Ralph answered. "Everybody sees the President."
> "I mean personally. Does he see you?"
> "The President sees a great deal, Bruce".
> "Do you ever see him to talk to him?"
> "About what?" asked Ralph.
> "About anything."
> "Oh. Bruce, you can't just talk to the President about anything," Ralph chided. "The President is often very busy." ...
> "Well, Ralph, if you did have something of importance to discuss with the President, could you get in to talk to him?"
> "About what?" Ralph asked again.
> "About whatever you had that was important - no don't stop me - like war, for example."
> "That's not my department," Ralph said. "That's out of my area".
> "What is your area?"
> "Just about everything I cover, Bruce."
> "What do you cover?"
> "Everything in my area, Bruce. That's my job."
> Gold was struggling to keep his voice down. "I've been trying to find out, Ralph, just what your job is."
> "Well, I'm glad I've been able to help," said Ralph, pumping his hand.
> (Heller 1979:188-189)

References

Allwood, J. 1976. *Linguistic communication as action and cooperation: A study in pragmatics*. Gothenburg Monographs in Linguistics 2. Gothenburg: Department of Linguistics, University of Göteborg.

Augustin, V., K. Liebe-Hartkort and T. Scherling 1977. *Feridun. Ein Lesebuch und Sprachprogramm nicht nur für Türken*. München: Abado.

Berne, E. 1968. *Games people play*. New York, N.Y.: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Chaudron, C. 1980. Review of Heltoft and Påby 1979 and Hermann et al. 1979, *Journal of Pragmatics* 4 (forthcoming).

Coulmas, F. 1979. On the social relevance of routine formulae, *Journal of Pragmatics* 3, 239-266.

Coulmas, F. (ed.) 1980. *Conversational routine*. Rasmus Rask Studies in Pragmatic Linguistics 2. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.

Dittmar, N., H. Haberland, T. Skutnabb-Kangas and U. Teleman (eds.) 1979. *Papers from the First Scandinavian-German Symposium on the Language of Immigrant Workers and their Children*, Roskilde 19-23 March, 1978. ROLIG-papir 12/78. Roskilde: Roskilde University Centre.

Habermas, J. 1976. Was heisst Universalpragmatik?, in K.O. Apel (ed.), *Sprachpragmatik und Philosophie*, Frankfurt/M: Suhrkamp, 174-272.

Haberland, H., and J. Mey 1979. Introduction to *Journal of Pragmatics* 3: 3/4.

Heller, J. 1979. *Good as Gold*. New York, N.Y.: Simon and Schuster.

Heltoft, A.-M., and K. Påby 1979. *Tampen brænder: Undervisning som samtale*. København: Reitzel.

Hermann, J., et al. 1979. *Skoledage*. Kongerslev: GMT, and København: Unge Pædagoger.

Mey, J. 1980a. Ned med Karlfeldt! eller: En kritik af pragmatikken. Paper read at a seminar on pragmatics at Odense University in November 1979. (To be published by Odense University Press)

Mey, J. 1980b. Hvem tilhører sproget? (Forthcoming)

Rieck, B.-O., and I. Senft 1979. Situation of foreign workers in the Federal Republic of Germany, in Dittmar et al. (eds.) 1979, 85-98.

Sacks, H. and E. Schegloff 1973. Opening up closings, *Semiotica* 8, 289-327.

Sacks, H., E. Schegloff and G. Jefferson 1976. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation, *Language* 50, 696-735.

Schlieben-Lange, B. and H. Weydt 1979. Pragmatik und Dialektologie, Zeitschrift für germanische Linguistik 3, 6.
Searle, J. 1969. Speech acts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SOME PARAMETERS OF SIMPLIFICATION

JORMA TOMMOLA
University of Turku

The concept of simplification has an immediate connection with the topics of language learning, acquisition, and teaching. In this paper, a brief review is given of some definitions of the term and of some parameters of simplification as a materials production technique. The use of these parameters is illustrated with a sample text and two simplifications. The general points offered in this paper will be followed, in a later article, by a quantitative analysis of linguistic devices employed in a series of published simplifications which will be compared with their original versions.

Definitions of simplification

The terms simplify and simplification have been used to refer to at least the following things:

(1) A hypothetical "learning strategy" in the process of second or foreign language acquisition (Richards 1975). Simplification here mainly denotes the principle of rule economisation as an aspect of learner behaviour. The learner attempts to account for a maximum amount of input data with a minimum number of rule hypotheses in order to achieve savings in the processing of the data. Thus, for example, such errors as overgeneralisations may be interpreted as a result of simplification processes operating during the formation of the learner's interlanguage system. This interpretation is objected to by Corder (1977) on logical grounds. According to him, the standard foreign language system is rather acquired through a process of complexification. Here a universal, semantically based simple system, to which the learner has access by virtue of his own development as a L1 acquirer, is gradually elaborated in the course of the development of the interlanguage system. A similar development presumably takes place in the case of pidgin codes, where the starting point is again the universal basic structure of natural language. When the interlanguage achieves a certain degree of adequacy as a vehicle for a range of transactions, further elaboration of the system may be aborted, which leads to stabilisation and

possibly fossilisation. The resulting system displays a restricted range of structural characteristics.

(2) The term has also been used to refer to the process by which a fully competent native speaker temporarily regresses to a simpler and often institutionalised register of his language for stylistic and sociolinguistic reasons (cf. Ferguson 1971). Examples of simplification in this sense include foreigner-talk, motherese, or telegraphese. These may be taken to involve a simplified rhetoric, not a simpler code (cf. Corder 1977; 1979). The speaker's communicative ability enables him to adapt his utterances according to addressee or situation along a continuum ranging from the full resources of the language to a narrow selection of linguistic devices.

(3) Related to (2) above is the definition of simplification as a process whereby, in the context of a foreign language teaching operation, the teacher or materials producer makes various adjustments in the language presented to the learner. As a pedagogical process, simplification implies firstly the selection of a restricted set of features from the full range of FL resources for purposes of pedagogic efficiency. The code is obviously not affected: the learners are not presented with a simpler language system but a restricted sample of the full system. A second aspect of simplification in this sense is the rearrangement of the content of the FL messages used as teaching materials.

The purpose and nature of simplification as a pedagogical technique

Simplification of written texts intended for FL learning materials thus comes in two main types: linguistic and content simplification (cf. Honeyfield 1977), the former dealing with the linguistic forms of 'usage', the latter involving the manipulation of 'use' (rhetorical devices, discourse organisation; cf. Widdowson 1979). A typical case of simplification in the former sense is the decontextualisation and idealisation of learning material within structurally organised syllabuses: the foreign language is presented through carefully chosen sets of non-authentic sentences or dialogues exemplifying structural learning points. Simplification is here clearly the "pedagogic analogue of the linguist's idealisation of data" (Widdowson 1979). Its purpose is to hold constant as many as possible of those FL variables which are irrelevant to the structural point being handled by the text. The second type, content simplification, seems to be central for the communicative approach to language teaching, where a characteristic preoccupation is with the minimal level of formal linguistic competence needed to perform certain well-defined and often restricted communication tasks. Here a learning text is seen chiefly as a set of acts of communication such as introducing the topic, presenting arguments, drawing conclusions, exemplifying, persuading, informing, etc. The essential task of the learner is seen to be the comprehension of meaning and of the communicative functions present in the text. From this point of view, the central aim of simplification is both making the linguistic forms "as unobtrusive as possible ... and their communicative function as obvious as possible" (Allen and Widdowson 1978).

The former type of simplification produces, in Widdowson's terminology, a 'simplified version', a contrived laboratory text. The latter process results in a 'simple account', ie. a genuine piece of discourse, with information rearranged so as to maximally facilitate the learner's processing of propositional and illocutionary content. It is clearly possible to simplify a text merely by lexical and syntactic substitution without changing the arrangement of content information. Presumably it is equally possible to produce a simple account (ie. to improve on the original organisation of content), and leave lexis and syntax untouched. The distinction is therefore useful in theory. However, it is difficult to find a simplified version where the informational sequence has not been changed at least by deletion, ie. abridgement. Similarly, most simple accounts would also seem to involve modification of 'usage', since they involve a selection of 'unobtrusive' linguistic forms rather than those one would use in authentic discourse. Thus in practice the binary division is perhaps less clear-cut than Widdowson implies.

As language-learning texts, both simplified versions and simple accounts involve a reduction of authenticity, at least if by an authentic text one means a piece of discourse aimed at native-language readers. The simplifier aims at facilitating the learner's processing task (comprehension, learning) by doing part of the processing in advance, so that the learner's energies may be concentrated on the essential learning points contained in the text. The realisation of this aim seems to presuppose some knowledge of a set of parameters of processing complexity for FL learners. One way of obtaining this knowledge is the systematic investigation of the nature of receptive FL processing. Relatively little seems to have been done along these lines, however. Another possible approach is to study the relationship between reception and production: the utterances learners produce presumably reflect what is simple for them, and simplifiers might well utilise information about discrepancies between receptive performance on the one hand, and controlled ('monitored') and automatic ('unmonitored') production performance on the other. These approaches would, then, start from experimental investigations of FL reception and production, and would extract factors that could be manipulated in the construction of simplified materials.

In general, however, simplification as a pedagogic technique seems to rely on the simplifier's intuitions and experience as teacher. The study of what happens in simplification consequently involves the description of the intuitive strategies used by the simplifier. This is essentially the approach that will be adopted in the later study; the same approach was used by Lautamatti (1978; 1979) in her observations on the text-linguistic characteristics of simplified materials. The logical next step within this approach would appear to be the experimental verification of the generalisations drawn from simplification data. Ideally, the simplification strategies derived from simplifier behaviour should be put under empirical test, since what the materials producer considers to be simple may in fact not be so for the learners. The practical aim of analyses of simplifications and of their use as materials in tests of processing complexity is obvious: the parameters isolated and found effective in this way can be usefully employed in the production of teaching materials of various kinds.

Some parameters of simplification

As a preliminary to later empirical work, it seems useful to consider some potential factors one would expect to find in simplified materials. The variables manipulated in simplification can be conveniently divided into lexical, syntactic, and discourse features. In the following, a brief general comment will be given on each. The operation of some of these variables will be illustrated with a concrete example involving an original passage (Appendix A), and two simplifications (Appendices B and C). The examples used to illustrate vocabulary and syntax simplification will be drawn from version B, in which the qualities of a simplified version are emphasised by leaving the original discourse structure relatively intact. The examples used to illustrate some discourse and text parameters are drawn from version C, essentially a simple account.

Lexical factors. A traditional feature in a host of readability formulae developed to predict the ease of processing of texts is word frequency, normally measured objectively by a word count in a set of materials, as in Thorndike and Lorge (1944). Native speakers recognise frequent words more efficiently than infrequent words; they prefer to use them, and they also comprehend and learn them with less effort. The frequency of a word's occurrence undoubtedly serves as an important factor in the internalisation of the intra-word redundancies which are the basis for expectancies typical of fluent processing. In foreign language teaching, it is naturally important to base vocabulary selection on the words which the student will be likely to encounter, and lexical simplification therefore includes the adaptation of vocabulary according to frequency considerations.

Another example of a possible lexical parameter is the semantic characteristic of concreteness or abstractness. In general, though not completely consistently, native-speaker results from word recognition experiments indicate that concreteness facilitates processing (cf. Gibson and Levin 1975). Concreteness is probably important in choosing or adapting texts for learners of a foreign language as well. Beginners' language processing is facilitated by the use of vocabulary which is learnable through ostensive procedures and immediately connected with real-world objects rather than combinations of other words.

In the production of a simplification, the application of such parameters normally results in paraphrasing, as the use of a restricted selection of vocabulary tends to provide few exact synonyms for original words. This usually has the effect of reducing the lexical density of the original. If the lexical density of a sentence (the ratio of content words to the total number of words) is a factor in processing complexity, as is suggested by Perfetti (1969), such paraphrases and expansions should have a facilitating effect on processing.

A small selection of typical lexical simplification strategies may be illustrated from version B, which concentrates mainly on vocabulary and syntax modification. If a suitable high-frequency item is readily available, it is substituted for a low-frequency item, as in sentence 2 of version B (B:2), where the word meaning appears instead of the original words definitions and connotations (A:3). Usually, however, expansion and the consequent reduction of lexical density accompanies the introduction of high-frequency words in the simplification of Latinate vocabulary or technical terms:

leonine roar (A:12) - the roar of a lion (B:19)

pupillary contraction (A:14) - the adjustment the eye makes to bright light (B:22)

Sometimes the provision of these 'prompting glossaries' (Widdowson 1978) within the simplified version requires more extensive syntactic reorganisation and addition of information. An example of this is the third sentence of the original version, where the notions of slot-machine on the one hand, and instantaneous, predictable and stereotyped behaviour, on the other, have necessitated a concrete explanation:

A: 3 ... we are the more justified to call an organism's behaviour 'reflex' the more it resembles the action of a mechanical slot-machine; that is to say, the more instantaneous, predictable, and stereotyped it is.

B:4-5 ... an organism's behaviour is reflex-like if it resembles the action of a cigarette machine: when you put in a coin, you know what you will receive; the machine produces the cigarettes at once; and it always responds in the same way. In other words, reflexes are typically predictable, instantaneous, and stereotyped.

In general, the psycholinguistic effect of vocabulary simplification is to reduce the learner's need for redundancy utilisation or 'inferencing' (cf. Carton 1971). The processing task of the less advanced learner is eased by avoiding situations where native-like fluency in inferring vocabulary from context would be expected. The simplification of lexis also has a direct influence on syntactic structure through expansion. To some extent, the reformulations and additions of information needed in lexical simplification can also bring the resulting version close to what is understood by a simple account. Abridgement has a similar effect.

Syntactic factors. Together with lexical parameters, modifications of sentence structures and length are often mentioned as typical parameters of simplified versions. In spite of a great number of psycholinguistic experiments, it remains, however, uncertain what kinds of structural factors actually contribute to processing complexity in the case of the native speaker or foreign language learner, and some psycholinguists would probably feel inclined to greatly de-emphasise the role of syntax.

However, one common assumption seems to be that the reduction of sentences into a series of simple kernels makes processing easier for the learner and native speaker alike. This is in line with the result from the early experiments on the Derivational Theory of Complexity: even though quantitative predictions concerning transformational processes may not hold, it still remains a fact that the surface structure of some sentences is less complex to handle than that of others. The segmentation of original sentences into smaller units naturally also reduces sentence length; however, this factor in itself is not necessarily related to processing complexity (cf., for example, Coleman 1962, who noted that dividing coordinated sentences into independent main clauses has no simplifying effect on the processing task). Another possible syntactic parameter is the frequency of the surface structure patterns employed: writing the text in high-frequency structures (normally corresponding to the syntactically simpler constructions) may make the learner's task easier (cf. Pierce 1973).

Psycholinguistic research with native speakers has also indicated that nominalisations, deletions from surface structure of markers of syntactic relations (e.g. relative pronoun and complementizer deletions), embedding, and left-branching constituent structure may be factors in processing complexity (cf. Coleman and Blumenfield 1963; Fodor and Garrett 1967; Hakes and Cairns 1970; Hakes 1972). Corresponding research with foreign language learners is scantier, but it seems reasonable to suppose that similar principles govern foreign language processing as well. Features such as these could therefore be taken into account in syntactic simplification.

Text B provides examples of parameters listed above. The chief syntactic simplification technique in text B has been the splitting up of sentences. For example, the content of A:3 has been spread out over sentences 2-5 of version B. This strategy is reflected in the number of sentences: the original text (A) has 18, while version B has 30. The mean sentence length in words has also dropped considerably (A=29.6; B=18.0), in spite of the fact that splitting and lexical simplification together tend to add words to sentences.

The change from the density typical of complex sentences towards the use of simple main clauses, i.e. dilution of sentence structure, is also reflected in the conversion of prepositional phrases into independent causes, e.g.

> in a stereotyped pattern (A:5) - The pattern of this muscle action is stereotyped (B:7).

or in the conversion of nominalisations into their finite-verb counterparts:

> electric stimulation of the zygomatic major (A:7) - If the zygomatic major ... is stimulated ... (B:10)

or in the conversion of reduced clauses into full sentences, as in

> scale... confirmed by laboratory experiments (A:6) - This has been proved in many experiments (B:9).

A further typical characteristic in the simplified version is the addition of explicit markers of sentential relations where this explicitness has been reduced by deletions:

> Laughter is a reflex, but unique in that ... (A:16) - Laughter is a reflex, but it is different ... (B:27)

Although the information flow or the original has in general remained intact, version B indicates that some changes in the information structure are being made especially through the deletion of irrelevant information or the addition of new information in the form of examples or glosses. The chief result of syntactic simplification using variables such as those mentioned above is the addition of redundancy to the sentence structure. While denseness may be a virtue in authentic text, it may cause problems for the foreign language learner, since he tends to require a greater number of overlapping cues than the native reader. The aim of syntactic simplification, then, is to increase the number of redundant clues to structure and meaning. To what extent these variables are actually used remains unclear. Preliminary observations by this writer, based on five simplified readers from a series of published simplifications, indicate that the number of syntactic parameters actually available to simplifiers may be quite limited. Neither is it obvious that the use of these variables will automatically facilitate processing, since syntactic dilution may obscure aspects of text and discourse structure.

Text and discourse factors. Even less definite than the syntactic factors is the set of parameters of processing complexity or simplicity in the domain of text or discourse (cf. Lautamatti 1979).

Following Enkvist (1975), a 'text' may be viewed as a combination of predications, text atoms, held together by cohesion achieved through various linguistic mechanisms. Underlying these linguistic phenomena there is the pragmatic structure of 'discourse' (Widdowson 1978; cf. also Allen and Widdowson 1978), ie. a coherent development of propositional and illocutionary content. In general, though not necessarily, linguistic (text) cohesiveness and pragmatic (discourse) coherence stand in a co-occurrence relationship.

The input that the reader of a first or foreign language deals with is the formal linguistic combination of predications. Textually, the reader's task is to process the links of these predications, since it may be assumed that comprehension entails the reconstruction of the original set of predications from the surface form of the written message. At the same time, the reader is engaged in processing at another level: he must analyse the pragmatics of the text; ie., he must find out what the underlying structure of the argument is like, and what communicative functions the text is intended to serve. Discourse parameters of simplification may therefore be expected to fall under two types: those relating to linguistic cohesion, and those related to pragmatic coherence. A simplified text, psesumably, is characterised by overt marking for the two types of organisation in the surface linguistic form.

Enkvist's (1975) term 'text strategy' implies a possible set of factors connected with pragmatic coherence. Text strategy is the conscious or subconscious overall plan or program that the text constructor employs in selecting propositional content and linearising his predications. It reflects the underlying discourse-level organisation that the writer has in mind. A typical strategy in narrative text is the ordering of textual segments according to the actual temporal organisation of the events discussed. This strategy is almost automatically selected in texts where the purpose is to explain certain processes in detail, as in operation manuals, etc. Psycholinguistic evidence from L1 acquisition suggests that this kind of organisation is fundamental (cf. the 'order of mention' principle demonstrated by E. Clark 1971). Although corresponding work on foreign language learners has yielded less clear experimental results (see Cook 1977), it is still a reasonable hypothesis that such strategies of discourse organisation contribute to the ease with which a text is processed by learners. Such 'unmarkedness' of discourse organisation may enable the learner to bring his language-independent pragmatic expectancies to bear on the processing task. - Other general strategies of this type include the familiar inductive vs. deductive organisation, and the linearisation of the argument according to the primacy of either cause or effect.

Other factors which may have an effect on the simplicity of processing are related to thematic structure, ie. the organisation of the text with reference to the main topic and subtopics of discourse and the linguistic features used to mark this organisation. Lautamatti's observation (1978), based on four simplified versions of a short informative passage, was that simplifiers tend to have an intuitive preference for making sentence-initial grammatical subjects coincide with discourse topics. Combined with syntactic segmentation of complex sentences into a series of independent clauses, this may in fact complicate the topical development and lead to potential difficulties for the reader in distinguishing textual 'highlights' from peripheral information. A related parameter here is 'theme dynamics' (Enkvist 1973). Theme iteration (termed 'parallel development' by Lautamatti 1979), ie. organising the text around a single theme or a limited number of themes and presenting the new information in relation to these few topics, may make the text easier to handle. Lautamatti (1978) found that at least some simplifiers tended to favour this technique. The obvious psycholinguistic explanation for the potential facilitating effect of theme iteration is that the receiver does not have to keep changing his address systems: during processing, new information is continously being added to a single address (represented by the theme of the passage). Theme progression ('sequential development'), whereby the rhematic element of a sentence becomes the theme of the next sentence, to which new information is again added, may demand more processing capacity, owing to a hierarchical and more involved textual structure, and a constant shifting of the 'pegs' on which new information is hung.

Simplicity of processing is also likely to be increased by the presence of explicit linguistic markers of discourse structure. Among the various types of such material, metatextual devices are probably the most important. These are paragraphs, sentences, clauses or words which do not contribute to the topic or information content being handled in the passage, but rather give the receiver indications to the internal organisation followed by the author. It may also be expected that a simplified text will include a wealth of such explicit markers of textual cohesion as connectors, pronominal reference and repetition.

Some examples of the above parameters may be found in version C, where the simplifier has modified discourse and text structure to some extent, thereby producing a simple account of the information given in the original text. The construction of a simple account starts from an analysis of the basic information structure of the original.

Taken as discourse, the original version A serves a general informative function, and presents roughly the following argument:

1. Laughter = reflex, since:
   (1) reflexes = automatic, stereotyped
   (2) laughter = stereotyped, scalar in intensity, modifiable by higher nervous centres (as are most reflexes)

2. (Laughter = reflex) = paradox, since:
   (1) reflexes have biological survival value
   (2) laughter serves no such "useful" function

The organisational strategy chosen by the author is roughly 'deductive': the two main points are stated in A:1 and A:13, with subsequent justification. However, there is little metatext, and a quick reading of the passage does not in fact produce an immediate sensation of simplicity and clarity.

The reason may be that the organisation of the passage as discourse and the macro-level topical development is relatively complex. The first sentence establishes the overall topic (laughter), but after a theme progression to the notion of reflex, the entire first paragraph deals with this subordinate topic. The second paragraph returns to the main topic, but proceeds immediately to a treatment of the subtopic of muscle contraction patterns (A:6), and establishes the scalar nature of this muscle activity. This central new information of the second paragraph then appears as the topic of A:9 (the initial sentence of the third paragraph). Here the new information receiving

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the main emphasis is that the gradations in intensity explain the rich variety of laughter; the important assumption that the gradation is a characteristic of reflex action is given considerably less prominence. The possibility of a reflex being consciously controlled, which is important for the argument that laughter is a true reflex in spite of conscious modification, is not developed into a main point, but is presented as a subtopic in the discussion of variety of forms of laughter (A:11). The fourth paragraph takes up the second main point. The notion of the motor reflex is introduced, and the new information presented about them is their utility. The main topic of the paragraph is then clarified through the re-introduction of the laughter reflex and the presentation of the new information that it serves no utilitarian function.

The production of a simple account such as version C involves taking the propositional and illocutionary content of the original version, and turning it into a 'genuine' albeit non-authentic piece of discourse. In this process, considerable selection and reduction of syntax and vocabulary takes place; one consequence for version C is the further decrease in mean sentence length (C=16.6 words), and an increase in the proportion of simple main clauses. As the simple account is intended to emphasise coherent development of main ideas, a certain amount of subsidiary information is usually dropped, as is evident from version C.

Version C also provides examples of the principle of making the logical connections between the ideas expressed as explicit as possible. For example, the third paragraph of the original (A) had placed the information about intensity variation in reflexes in a textually non-prominent position. In the simple account, this piece of information has been moved to a position where it may help the reader follow the argument. Another example of an attempt to increase coherence is C:12-13, where the information that laughter is still a reflex although it can be consciously controlled is now presented with more emphasis than in A:9-12. Thus, the reader of a simple account is not expected to supply too much information from his knowledge of the world, or to read between the lines. Instead, an attempt is made to develop a clearer referential field for him through making discourse coherence more evident by some reorganisation of content.

In addition, discourse coherence has been emphasised by the introduction of metatext, as in the beginning of the first and fourth paragraphs of version C.

The simple account also involves the use of a wealth of explicit markers of logical sentence connection, such as the sentence-initial conjuncts of C:3,9,11. While it is not entirely certain that secondary school students, for example, can make good use of connectors[1], it is possible that recognition here precedes production, and that the addition of these indicators of textual relationships may help the reader to structure the text - a hypothesis which would deserve some experimental work.

Version C also displays increased grammatical cohesion through repetition, use of coreferential noun phrases, anaphoric pronominal reference, etc. This is also noted by Lautamatti (1979), who points out that the use of pronominal reference is natural in FL situations since closed-system items are easily remembered and since omission of subsidiary material from simplifications increases the need for clarity of reference. An additional and perhaps even more natural explanation may be that syntactic dilution is a primary technique even in the production of simple accounts. The increased use of cohesive devices such as pronominal reference is an automatic consequence of the increase in the number of simple sentences.

The examples of discourse parameters mentioned above, whether relating to pragmatic coherence or to linguistic cohesion, can again be interpreted as means of adding explicit structure to the text to be processed by the learner. Essentially, then, textual simplification also seems to deal with the addition of redundancy to the text at various levels. What seems to be less evident is which, if any, of the possible parameters actually facilitate the processing of the text, and whether the manipulation of rhetorical structure or textual cohesion is equally central for the learner as syntactic and, above all, lexical factors.

A concluding remark

Although authenticity is a desirable quality in foreign language teaching texts, FL instruction obviously cannot be based solely on authentic material. It may be possible to find texts written for different levels of native readers and to make occasional use of these as FL teaching materials, but it seems likely that simplification as a pedagogical technique will remain an unavoidable necessity at certain levels. Furthermore, it also seems that such simplification will involve, to some extent at least, the simultaneous modification of both 'usage' and 'use'. The purpose of simplification is to improve the learner's probabilities of being successful in the processing of the material. The investigation of the various factors which make up processing complexity is a central domain of psycholinguistic study. A psycholinguistic approach to FL performance therefore seems profitable even in the study of simplification.

---

[1] Cloze test results from both native English and Finnish speakers and secondary school students of English as a foreign language seem to indicate some lack of ability to supply connectors even though the central ones form a relatively closed set (Tommola, in preparation); and learner's essays often display a one-sided preference for coordination with and (Jaakkola 1976).

References

Allen, J.P.B., and H.G. Widdowson 1978. Teaching the communicative use of English, in Mackay and Mountford (eds.) 1978, 2-20.

Carton, A.S. 1971. Inferencing: a process in using and learning language, in Pimsleur and Quinn (eds.) 1971, 45-58.

Clark, E. 1979. On the acquisition of the meaning of before and after, JVLVB 10, 266-275.

Cook, V.J. 1977. Cognitive processes in second language learning, IRAL 25, 1-20.

Coleman, E.B. 1962. Improving comprehensibility by shortening sentences, Journal of Applied Psychology 46, 131-134.

Coleman, E.B., and J.P. Blumenfield 1963. Cloze scores of nominalisations and their grammatical transformations using active verbs, Psychological Reports 13, 651-654.

Corder, S.P. 1977. Simple codes and the source of the second language learner's initial heuristic hypothesis, in Corder and Roulet (eds.) 1977, 1-10.

Corder, S.P. 1979. Formal simplicity and functional simplification in second language acquisition. Paper given at the Colloquium on Research on the Acquisition and Use of a Second Language under Different Circumstances. TESOL Convention 1979.

Corder, S.P. and E. Roulet 1977. Linguistic Approaches to Applied Linguistics. Paris: Didier.

Enkvist, N.E. 1973. 'Theme dynamics' and style: an experiment. Studia Anglica Posnaniensia 5, 127-135.

Enkvist, N.E. 1975. Tekstilingvistiikan peruskäsitteitä. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.

Ferguson, C.A. 1971. Absence of the copula and the notion of simplicity, Language Structure and Language Use, Essays by Charles A. Ferguson, selected and introduced by Anwar S. Dil, 277-292.

Fodor, J.A., and M.F. Garrett 1967. Some syntactic determinants of sentential complexity, Perception & Psychophysics 2, 289-296.

Gibson, E.J., and H. Levin 1975. The Psychology of Reading. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.

Hakes, D.T. 1972. Effects of reducing complement constructions on sentence comprehension, JVLVB 11, 278-286.

Hakes, D.T., and H.S. Cairns 1970. Sentence comprehension and relative pronouns, Perception & Psychophysics 8, 5-8.

Honeyfield, J. 1977. Simplification, TESOL Quarterly 11, 431-440.

Jaakkola, H. 1976. Ylioppilaskokelaiden englannin kielen tutkinnon aineosioiden lauserakenteesta. Publications de l'Association Finlandaise de Linguistique Appliquée 15. Helsinki: AFinLA.

Kohonen, V., and N.E. Enkvist (eds.) 1978. Text Linguistics, Cognitive Learning and Language Teaching. Publications de l'Association Finlandaise de Linguistique Appliquée 22. Turku: AFinLA.

Lautamatti, L. 1978. Observations on the development of the topic in simplified discourse, in Kohonen and Enkvist (eds.) 1978, 71-104.

Lautamatti, L. 1979. Some observations on cohesion and coherence in simplified texts, in Ostman (ed.) 1979, 165-181.

Mackay, R., and A. Mountford 1978. English for Specific Purposes. London: Longman.

Ostman, J.-O. (ed.) 1979. Cohesion and Semantics. Abo: Research Institute of the Abo Akademi Foundation.

Perfetti, C.A. 1969. Lexical density and phrase structure depth as variables in sentence retention, JVLVB 8, 719-724.

Pierce, M.E. 1973. Sentence-level expectancy as an aid to advanced reading, TESOL Quarterly 7, 269-277.

Pimsleur, P., and T. Quinn (eds.) 1971. The Psychology of Second Language Learning. Cambridge: C.U.P.

Richards, J.C. 1975. Simplification: a strategy in the adult acquisition of a foreign language: an example from Indonesian/Malay, Language Learning 25, 115-126.

Thorndike, E.L., and I. Lorge 1944. The Teacher's Wordbook of 30,000 Words. New York: Columbia University.

Tommola, J. (in preparation). 'The Asyndetic Strategy': clause and sentence connection by EFL learners.

Widdowson, H.G. 1978. Teaching Language as Communication. Oxford: O.U.P.
Widdowson, H.G. 1979. Explorations in Applied Linguistics. Oxford: O.U.P.

Appendix A:

The laughter reflex[1]

1 Laughter is a reflex. 2 The word reflex, as Sir Charles Sherrington said, is a useful fiction. 3 However much its definitions and connotations differ according to various schools - it has in fact been the central battleground of psychology for the last fifty years - no one is likely to quarrel with the statement that we are the more justified to call an organism's behaviour 'reflex' the more it resembles the action of a mechanical slot-machine; that is to say, the more instantaneous, predictable, and stereotyped it is. 4 We may also use the synonyms 'automatic' 'involuntary' etc., which some psychologists dislike; they are in fact implied in the previous sentence.

5 Spontaneous laughter is produced by the co-ordinated contraction of fifteen facial muscles in a stereotyped pattern and accompanied by altered breathing. 6 The point to retain about this contraction is that it displays a continuous scale leading from the faint smile to Homeric laughter, confirmed by laboratory experiments. 7 Electrical stimulation of the zygomatic major, the main lifting muscle of the upper lip, with currents of varying intensity, produces expressions ranging from smile to broad grin to the facial contortions typical of loud laughter. 8 Films made of tickled babies and of hysterics to whom tickling was conveyed by suggestion show the reflex swiftly increasing from the first faint facial contraction to paroxysms of shaking and choking - as the quicksilver in a thermometer, dipped into hot water, rapidly mounts to the red mark.

9 These gradations of intensity not only demonstrate the reflex character of laughter but at the same time provide an explanation for the rich variety of its forms - from Rabelaisian laughter at a spicy joke to the rarefied smile of courtesy. 10 But there are additional reasons to account for this confusing variety. 11 Reflexes do not operate in a vacuum; they are to a greater or lesser extent interfered with by higher nervous centres; thus civilized laughter is rarely quite spontaneous. 12 Amusement can be feigned or suppressed; to a faint involuntary response we may add at will a discreet chuckle or a leonine roar; and habit-formation soon crystallizes these reflex-plus-pretence amalgams into characteristic properties of a person.

13 I have taken pains to show that laughter is, in the sense indicated above, a true reflex, because here a paradox arises which is the starting point of our inquiry. 14 Motor reflexes, usually exemplified in textbooks by knee-jerk or pupillary contraction, are relatively simple, direct responses to equally simple stimuli which, under normal circumstances, function autonomously, without requiring the intervention of higher mental processes; by enabling the organism to counter disturbances of a frequently met type with standardized reactions, they represent eminently practical arrangements in the service of survival. 15 But what is the survival value of the involuntary, simultaneous contraction of fifteen facial muscles associated with certain noises which are often irrepressible? 16 Laughter is a reflex, but unique in that it serves no apparent biological purpose; one might call it a luxury reflex. 17 Its only utilitarian function, as far as one can see, is to provide temporary relief from utilitarian pressures. 18 On the evolutionary level where laughter arises, an element of frivolity seems to creep into a humourless universe governed by the laws of thermodynamics and the survival of the fittest.

---

[1] Koestler, A. The Act of Creation. Hutchinson & Co., London 1964, pp. 28-30. Reprinted by permission of A D Peters & Co Ltd. For the purposes of this paper, the original passage has been modified by deleting a lengthy quotation from between sentences 5 and 6, and by slightly changing the wording of sentence 6.

Appendix B:

The laughter reflex

1 Laughter is a reflex. 2 The word reflex is a useful term in psychology, but its meaning is not always clear. 3 In fact, the notion of 'reflex' has been the central battleground of psychology for the last fifty years. 4 However, no one is likely to quarrel with the statement that an organism's behaviour is reflex-like if it resembles the action of a cigarette machine: when you put in a coin, you know what you will reveive; the machine produces the cigarettes at once; and it always responds in the same way. 5 In other words, reflexes are typically predictable, instantaneous, and stereotyped.

6 The movements of the face during spontaneous laughter are produced by the co-ordinated action of fifteen muscles, and they are accompanied by altered breathing. 7 The pattern of this muscle action is stereotyped. 8 Another important point to note about this muscle action is that it can vary along a continuous scale. 9 This has been proved in many experiments. 10 If the zygomatic major, the main lifting muscle of the upper lip, is stimulated with electric current of varying strength, this produces expressions which range from a smile through a broad grin to the twisting of the face typical of loud laughter. 11 The same continuous scale can also be seen in films made of babies which are being tickled. 12 The reflex increases quickly from the first small twist of the facial muscles to violent shaking and choking - just as the quick-silver in a thermometer rises swiftly when the thermometer is put into hot water.

13 These degrees of intensity in the laughter response demonstrate the reflex character of laughter. 14 They also explain why laughter takes so many different forms. 15 But there are also other explanations for the variety in the forms of laughter. 16 One is that reflexes can be modified by higher nervous centres. 17 Thus, civilised laughter is rarely quite spontaneous. 18 It is possible to pretend to be amused, and it is just as possible to suppress laughter. 19 To the basic reflex response we may consciously add a quiet chuckle or a laughter that resembles the roar of a lion.

20 I have taken pains to show that laughter is a true reflex. 21 My reason for emphasising this is that here a paradox arises which is the starting point of our inquiry. 22 Motor reflexes, such as the familiar knee-jerk or the adjustment the eye makes to bright light, are relatively simple, direct responses to equally simple stimuli. 23 Reflexes such as these operate automatically under normal circumstances, and higher mental processes play no part in them. 24 Their function is to enable the organism to react quickly to certain common disturbances. 25 In this way, reflexes are very useful aids to survival. 26 But what is the survival value of the reflex-like action of fifteen facial muscles and the accompanying noise? 27 Laughter is a reflex, but it is different from all other reflexes, because it serves no clear biological purpose. 28 One might call it a luxury reflex. 29 Its only useful function seems to be that it provides a way of forgetting the pressures of having to be useful. 30 At the point of man's evolution where laughter developed, a spark of humour seems to have entered the humourless universe governed by the laws of thermodynamics and the survival of the fittest.

Appendix C:

The laughter reflex

1 Let us start our study of laughter as a reflex by looking at the term 'reflex'. 2 The word is widely used in psychology, but it is often given quite different meanings. 3 However, many people would agree that the behaviour of an organism is a reflex if it resembles the action of a cigarette machine: when you put in a coin (the stimulus), the machine always acts (responds) quickly, and in the same way. 4 A reflex is a quick, automatic response which always takes roughly the same form. 5 Another characteristic of a reflex is that the strength of the response can vary depending on how strong the stimulus is.

6 Now, the movements of the face during laughter are produced by fifteen muscles acting together. 7 The muscles of the face always act in roughly the same way during laughter. 8 In addition the strength of this muscle action (the laughter response) can vary. 9 For example, suppose you give tiny electric shocks to the *zygomatic major* (the muscle that lifts the upper lip), and vary their strength. 10 The result is a scale of face movements that goes from a little smile all the way to the twisting of the face that takes place during loud laughing.

11 Thus, laughter and reflexes seem to have much in common. 12 It is true that you can control your laughing: you may choose not to laugh although the joke *was* funny, or you may think you had better laugh even though the joke was *not* funny. 13 But even so, laughter is like a reflex, since to some extent reflexes, too, can be controlled.

14 Above, I have tried to show that laughter is a real reflex. 15 My second main point is that it is a very strange kind of reflex. 16 To see why this is so, think for a moment about a typical reflex, say, the way you pull your hand away if you happen to touch something hot. 18 These kinds of reflex actions are necessary for us. 19 They make it possible for us to react automatically and quickly to certain things that might be dangerous. 19 It may be that man has survived only because he has developed quick reflexes like these. 20 But what about laughter? 21 What is the usefulness of the laughter reflex? 22 Laughter is a reflex, but it is different from all other reflexes, because it serves no biological purpose. 23 Its only purpose is pleasure. 24 It is a luxury reflex.

THE MOST FUNCTIONAL ENGLISH FOR A FINNISH FIVE-YEAR OLD

Pirjo Linnakylä
University of Jyväskylä

The Subject and the Project

When a five-year olf boy enters a new country, he may find circumstances which are quite different from those he is used to. However, his basic needs remain the same. He looks for security, he needs friends, and he wants to explore the surrounding world and his own imagination. To satisfy these basic needs in the new milieu the child often has to acquire a new functional language. The aim of the study reported here was to identify and describe the primary needs and functions of English usage for a five-year old Finnish boy, Antti, during his first eight months in the U.S.A.

A descriptive, observational case-study approach is commonly used in second language (L2) acquisition research, especially when a virgin territory is entered in which little has been investigated before. Since the functional use of L2 by children is a new research area, an observational case study may contribute to the discovery of the relevant variables of a phenomenon which involves interactive, interpersonal and contextual features. The observational approach permits collection of data in typical everyday speech situations, in school, in the playground, and at home.

Since this was a case study of my own son, it was of a great personal interest. The old idea that it is easy to learn a new language as a child appeared to be wrong, at least in this case. It may be that the greater plasticity of the brain (Penfield and Roberts 1959, Lenneberg 1967), or ego flexibility (Guiora 1972), makes second language acquisition easier in childhood, but the young child's limited cognitive capacity suggests that older children and adolescents do better in second language learning (Ervin-Tripp 1974, Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle 1978, Ramirez and Politzer 1975). It seems to be difficult to acquire a new language at any age, and it is especially complicated when the child has to adapt to a new culture, to find new friends, and to start school at the same time. This is not only true of my son; it is also true of many other children from different language and ethnic backgrounds. They have to learn to function in a new milieu, and they can learn it only by interacting with other people in everyday speech situations.

Antti came to the U.S.A. from Finland in September 1978, when he was 4 years 11 months old. The adjustment to the new surroundings, the redomestication (Schumann, mimeo), was not smooth for Antti. Many difficulties which are assumed to be characteristic of adults only, eg. 'language shock', 'culture shock', and 'culture stress' (Schumann), appeared to frustrate the child as well. On the first school day, Antti was very enthusiastic. He was sure he would have friends and a good time in kindergarten. The disappointment was obvious. It was almost impossible for him to make friends or even to express his most basic needs - to ask where the restroom was - without the fear of appearing comic or different. This was a real shock and produced anxiety and depression in the child.

Antti seemed, however, to reveal his anxiety and depression only at home. At school he behaved nicely and never showed adverse feelings. If he was rejected, he undertook some activity, like drawing, which did not require company. He seemed to avoid all kinds of conflict. Thus it was understandable that the teacher said Antti was a very nice, happy, and social child. She did not seem to know how reluctantly Antti went to school during the first depressive months.

After Christmas, the depression was over. Antti started playing outside, he brought friends home, or went to play at his friend's house. The motivation to socialize seemed to interact with positive attitudes toward the school and language use. The acquisition of language increased rapidly. Antti seemed to enjoy his friends, and even going to school.

In Antti's case the adjustment to the environment could be described with the curve in Figure 1.

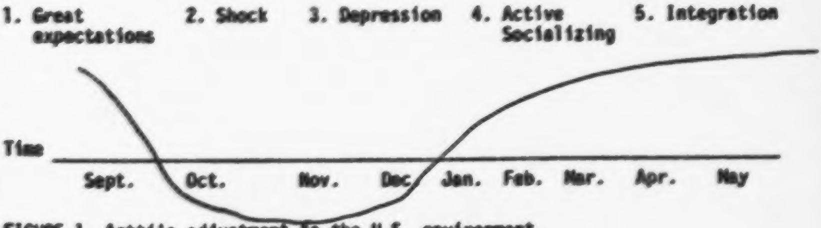


FIGURE 1. Antti's adjustment to the U.S. environment.

In order to participate in school and playground activities Antti used the following social strategies (fc. Fillmore 1976):

Try to act like other children by observing their behavior.

Avoid any kind of conflict with other children or with teachers in order to please and be accepted.

Join the group and act as if you understand (Fillmore 1976).

Use special expressions - singing, humming, shouts, gestures - to give the impression that you are able to communicate.

Say greetings, attention-getters, or talk routines to give the impression that you can speak English (Fillmore 1976).

Look active. If you are rejected or the activity demands complicated interaction, look for something you can do by yourself, like drawing or looking at books.

Start to play games which do not demand difficult communication.

Take out interesting toys to get attention and other children interested in you and your playing.

Join one friend rather than a bigger group. Then you can count on your friend's help in interaction.

As a primary learning strategy (cf. Fillmore 1976, Hakuta 1976, and Huang and Hatch 1978) Antti used imitation. The greetings, contextual commands, and various labels for common objects appeared in this formulaic way into his first repertoire. As a second strategy he used formula combination. For example, the leave-taking at the child care center developed as follows:

Bye
Bye-bye
Bye-bye, teacher
Bye-bye, teacher, see you
Bye-bye, teacher, see you soon
Bye-bye, teacher, see you another week ('next day')

Original productions appeared in Antti's repertoire late in November. These rule-governed utterances, *This* - *car* and *This car black*, did not indicate any wide grammatical competence. As late as in May Antti used formulaic and productive utterances simultaneously:

Don' take my money!	No take guns!
What do you say?	What you's play?
Look at me!	Look this book.
I know it.	He's go Oakland Zoo.

He also used direct appeal for assistance as a learning strategy, for example in Finnish questions:

Mitä *hurry up* tarkottaa? (What does *hurry up* mean?)

Miten sanotaan *sairas* amerikaks? (How do you say *sick* in American?)

or in English questions:

What's this name? (pointing to the aquarium)

As a language learner, Antti seemed to be an average child (Fillmore 1976). After eight months he appeared to get along quite well in play situations with other children, even though his grammatical performance contained plenty of errors and his communicative competence was limited.

The theoretical frame

Recent studies in the discourse analysis of L1 have been primarily centered on the investigation of discourse rules and pragmatic functions (Bates 1976). Even though the pragmatic or sociolinguistic functions of language have been described in the context of the first language, the various functions are by definition universal and, presumably, acquired at a very early age (Bates 1976, Grice 1968, Antinucci and Parisi 1975, Halliday 1975). Thus, the pragmatic approach provided a theoretical model for the analysis of communicative intentions and functions of L2 acquisition.

For the present study the unit of the pragmatic analysis of the speech situation was the speech act (Austin 1962), a word, or a formulaic phrase (primitive speech act, Dore 1974) that represented an independent illocutionary intention. The classification was based on the following evidence: the child's utterances, his non-linguistic behavior (gestures, mime, etc.), and the other participants' responses. The primary determinant of the illocutionary force of a speech act was the speakers's communicative intention.

However, when the child is acquiring a second language in a natural setting, the conceptual component of his utterance may also contain some intention-indicating device. For example, when the child is using his mother tongue, he often includes L2 expressions in his speech, since the new cultural environment is filled with novel and untried objects for him to discover and label. When he does not know the expression for a new object in his mother tongue, he borrows it from the second language, for instance:

Lunchbox jäi autoon.
Minä katon sen big bird-ohjelman.
Missä se minun Halloween pumpkin on?
Yhellä pojalla oli semmoset hienot racing pants.

In my study I distinguished the functional determinant of the illocutionary force as communicative intention and the functional determinant of the proposition of an English utterance in a Finnish speech act as conceptual intention.

In the analysis of communicative intention, the major division, based on the status of the child's utterance, was made between social speech and egocentric speech (Piaget 1926). Social speech is addressed to someone for interpersonal intention, while the goal of egocentric speech is not to communicate with another person, although it may in fact be responded to (Wells 1973).

As the theoretical framework of the functional classification I used an application of Wells' (1973), Halliday's (1975), and Dore's (1977) functional classifications. The main functional categories are summarized in Figure 2.

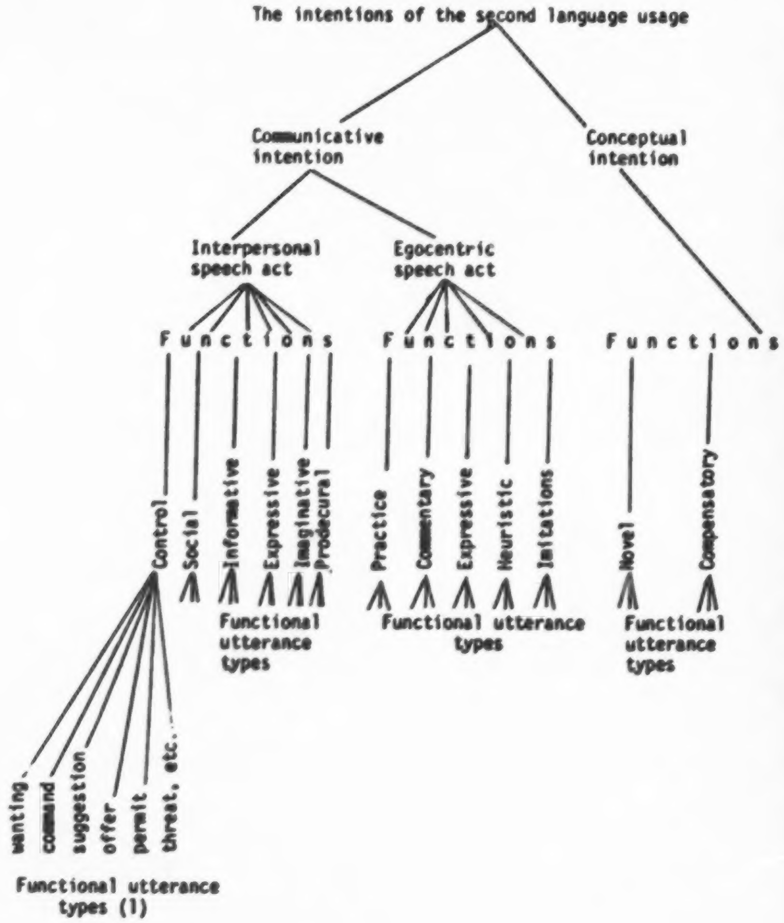

The intentions of the second language usage
Communicative intention
Conceptual intention
Interpersonal speech act
Egocentric speech act
Functions
Functions
Functions
Control
Social
Informative
Expressive
Imaginative
Prodecural
Practice
Commentary
Expressive
Heuristic
Imitations
Novel
Compensatory
Functional utterance types
Functional utterance types
Functional utterance types
wanting
command
suggestion
offer
permit
threat, etc.
Functional utterance types (1)

FIGURE 2. The main functional categories used in the present study.

Communicative Intention

Social Mode. - During the first two months, Antti's major concern was not so much learning the second language but establishing a social relationship with its speakers. The social mode, the intention to establish and maintain social interaction, appeared to be the primary function of his earliest second language use. The social mode was at first reflected in formulaic greetings, farewells, and polite talk routines, such as:

Hi!
Bye! Bye-bye!
How are You?
See you!
Thank you.
Hello!
Good morning.
Good-bye!
Good night.
Have a nice day!

These formulaic expressions are isolated and occur usually in the first or the last position in the speech chain. One reason why these utterances are acquired first may be that they remain best in memory (Ervin-Tripp 1974). Moreover, these expressions often open and close the social interaction and therefore they are the most significant for a child who looks for social contact. They did not seem to represent phatic procedural silence-fillers to the child; they were significant keys for social relationships.

Situation: Leave-taking at care center.
Participants: Teacher, Antti and his mother.

A: Bye-bye teacher!
T: ---
(Since there is no answer, Antti asks his mother in Finnish why the teacher does not say farewell to him. The mother explains that the teacher probably did not hear.)
A: Bye-bye, teacher! (very loud)
T: Bye-bye, Antti, See you!
A: See you!

Besides greetings Antti acquired many polite talk routines quickly, even those he never used in Finnish, for example:

Thank you
Thank you very much
Milk, please
Have a nice day

The need for social acceptance seemed to require these polite routines, especially when he was interacting with adults. Later, in the spring, when pleasing the teacher was no longer so important for receiving positive attention, Antti seemed to 'forget' these routines. The comparison of two speech situations reveals this difference:

Situation: School, snacktime (11/10)

Participants: Teacher, Antti

T: Antti, do you want some milk?
A: Yes - please
(after drinking one cup)
A: Milk, please.

Situation: Care center, Snacktime (5/3)

Participants: Teacher, Antti

T: Hey, Antti, how about some milk?
A: Yeh. There enough?
T: Oh, yes. Help yourself.
A: (pours) No milk, anymore.

To open an interaction Antti used common attention-getters, ie. attention-words and naming:

Hi!
Hey!
Hi, Eric! Eric!
Hey, Justin!
Hey, Teacher!
Hey, you guys!
Look, Joe!

After Christmas, attention-getters seemed to be the primary social utterances. Hey, look was the most common utterance in Antti's speech.

Situation: Playing at home with an English-speaking friend, Brian. (1/28)

A: Hey, look.
B: What is it?
A: Look, look (raceboard)
B: Yeh, look this raceboard!
What is this for? (a part of the board)
A: This, here. (shows where the part belongs to)

Some non-verbal expressions, like humming, singing, shouting, and gestures often reflected a social function; the purpose was to fill the silence with anything that is close to communication.

Situation: Playing with Brian at home. (1/28)

B: What is that?
A: Boy, boy, boy.
B: Robin?
A: Yeh, Robin.
(Brian starts playing with Robin, Antti takes Superman.)
tu-tu-tu-tu (running sounds)
pow-pow (shouting sounds)
look, look out!

In the first months many short exclamations functioned as approvals or invitations, for example:

Yes! (That was a good trick.)
Oh, boy! (What a nice jump.)
Right? (Didn't I slide well?)
Okay? (pointing to the slide. Let's go to slide)

Thus short commentary phrases, like Okay, you know, right, seemed to have a real social intention, not just a silence-filling purpose. Later, inviting or suggesting questions or exclamations were expressed with longer utterances.

C'mon! (11/24)
C'mon, play! (1/22)
You play me? (3/27)
You, my friend? (4/18)
You's come my house, playing? (4/18)
You wanna play with me? (5/17)

After Christmas, Antti seemed to be quite competent with many of the play routines which the children usually repeated during group games at school and child care center.

Catch me, catch me!
Free, free!
My turn!
One, two, three, go!
Ready, get set, go!

During the spring months Antti started to use polite discussion openers to create conversation, especially with adults:

Situation: Our neighbour Ralph is repairing his bicycle in the yard. (5/12)

A: Hi!
R: Hi, Antti, how are you today?
A: Fine.
(Long silence.)
A: Cold here?
R: Yeh, it's getting cold.
(silence)
A: You's got fine bicycle.
R: Yeh (laughing)
A: I got bicycle, too.
R: Yeh, I know.

However, socially negative expressions, rejections, and teasings also appeared in Antti's speech:

Situation: Three-year old Gailen wants to come to play with Antti. (3/18)

A: No come!
G: Yes, I'll come to play with your toys.
A: No, go your home! Go your house!

Situation: At the care center Antti is drawing with teacher (Joe) and other children. (4/30)

A: (drawing a skeleton) This, Joe! (laughing)
J: C'mon Antti, that's not me.
A: Yeh, this Joe, (to other children) look, this Joe!

Situation: At home looking at comic book with Taiwanese friend, Kem. (5/2)

A: (showing the picture of an ugly fat woman) Look, Kem, your girlfriend! (laughing)
K: -- (laughing, does not seem to understand)

A: Yeh, Kem's girlfriend, Kem's girlfriend! (laughing)
K: No, no, no! (seems to understand)
A: Yeh, Kem's girlfriend! (laughing)

The emphasis of the functional utterances of the social mode can be described longitudinally in the following stages:

1st stage (September - November):	formulaic greetings, farewells, polite talk routines, inviting exclamations.
2nd stage (January - February):	attention-getters, commentary phrases, play routines, invitations, suggestions.
3rd stage (March - May):	invitations, suggestions, polite discussion openers, rejections, and teasings.

The development of the social mode progressed from the safe, formulaic, and most acceptable utterances to the wide range of social expressions: from polite discussion openers to the socially negative rejections and risky teasings.

Control Mode. - The control mode appeared in Antti's communicative repertoire through utterances which also had a social intention. Many expressions of want and suggestions could be categorized as social or control acts:

C'mon! (Let's play together)
Ball! (Let's play with the ball)
Let's go! (to the slide)

Some expressions of want, directions and commands, even expressed in one- or two-word utterances had an obvious controlling function:

Milk! (I want milk.)
Milk, please.
More milk!
Hurry up!

Situation: A girl is teasing Antti on the school bus.
(A girl is grabbing Antti's jacket.)
A: No. (mild prohibition)
(The girl goes on, scratching his hand.)
A: No! (prohibition, afraid)
(The girl goes on.)
A: Go - away!

After Christmas, clear requests, commands, and prohibitions appeared.

Give back! (toy car)
Come, come outside!
Come here!
Go there!
Wait!
Wait me!
No take it! (toy gun)
Don't do it! (Don't break my bicycle!)

Directive school routines were also used after Christmas:

Be quiet!
Sit down!
Lay down!

Situation: At home offering a drink to friends. (2/22)

A: You orange juice? (to Alex)
(no answer)
A: Orange juice! Raise your hands! (Who wants orange juice?)

During the spring months, clear offers, threats, prohibitions, warnings, and solicitations appeared in the controlling speech:

Situation: Playing with Brian in the yard. (4/25)
(Brian has taken Antti's helmet)
A: Give it back! (strong command)
I beat you! (Brian runs to his home)

While playing on the playground at the care center (April - May):

Get out of my way!
Don't take my money, boy!
Don't go there!
No mess it! (Don't make a mess.)
You wanna wet? (warning: I am going to make you wet.)
You's wanna go inside? (offer)
Can you ties my shoe?

The functional development of the control mode can be described in the following stages:

1st stage (September - November):	attention-callers, mild social directions, and wantings.
2nd stage (January - February):	requests, commands, and school routines.
3rd stage (March - May):	offers, threats, prohibitions, warnings, and solicitations.

The development of controlling utterances progressed from mild social directions to a varied range of directives, including strong commands, warnings, threats, and solicitations.

Expressive Mode. - The expressive mode indicating feelings and attitudes as an affective response to a situation appeared first in short exclamations that expressed delight, approval, amazement, dislike, or fear.

Situation: A boy does a trick on the slide in the playground.

A: Yes! (laughing, clapping his hands)

Situation: On Halloween morning a boy is wearing a mask.

A: Oh boy! (delighted and amazed)

Body language, including gestures and facial expressions, was often combined with these exclamations. Delight and approval arouse activity: clapping hands, laughing, smiling, and jumping. Loneliness and the feeling of being an outsider seemed to silence the child. His dislikes were often reflected in facial expressions: grimacing or sticking out his tongue. These universal gestures and mimes expressed his feelings and attitudes in the beginning, often without words, but sometimes connected with exclamations. Later they were accompanied with longer utterances:

Situation: Joe, teacher in the care center, is kicking the ball. (2/22)

A: Oh, Joe, good! (clapping his hands)

Situation: Looking at the drawing of the classmate at the care center. (5/15)

A: Kweli, you's drawing better. (grimacing at his own drawing)

K: No, you are better than me.

On his birthday in October, Antti easily learned the whole "Happy Birthday" song. Since then, when he was in a good mode, he sang the song as an indication of happiness. After Christmas, for some weeks, the song "Jingle Bells" seemed to have the same indication as the birthday song.

As expressions of excitement Antti used the names of superheroes from the very beginning. Superman, Spiderman, Batman, Tarzan, Steve Austin, and Starwars represented, in both interpersonal communication and in egocentric speech, excitement and magic. These superheroes appeared at first in egocentric play, but soon they also emerged when Antti was playing with friends:

Situation: Playing in the schoolyard (11/23)

Participants: Antti, Justin

A: Superman, Superman! (singing)
J: What you doing?
A: Superman, Superman!
(Pretending to fly)
J: Superman, Superman!
(Both running and pretending to fly)

Situation: Playing at home with Brian (1/28)

Participants: Brian, Antti

A: Look, look.
Superman, Superman! (singing)
Watch out, super starwar!
phew - phew!

These magic words seemed to represent cue expressions for certain kinds of imaginative play which every boy seemed to know and which did not require demanding communication but only repeating these cue words with a certain singing intonation. Different kinds of sound effects were often connected with this type of playing. These 'super' words and sounds seemed to be the only imaginative expressions which Antti favored during the eight months.

After Christmas Antti started using apologies, approving and disapproving names, and persuasive cajoles spontaneously.

Situation: Antti pouring milk and spilling it on the table.

A: Sorry, sorry. (2/6)

Situation: In the school library, Jacob is mixing Antti's puzzle. (1/25)

A: Stupid! Stupid!

Situation: In the yard a boy is kicking his broken bicycle. (2/26)

A: You crazy.

During the last months Antti used endearments, commiserations, blamings, and teasings, as well as statements of approval, disapproval, feelings, or attitudes.

Situation: In the care center to Mandy. (4/24)

A: I like you, honey.
M: Hey Norwell, Antti says he likes me.

Situation: In the care center Antti is listening while Kam's mother is speaking of how Kam does not speak English. (3/28)

A: Poor Kam, poor Kam!

Situation: While playing cards with Kweli in the school library. (5/13)

A: You mixing cards! (blaming)
K: No, I don't.
A: Yeh, you mixing.

Situation: In the yard at the care center to Serena (4/25)

A: Na-na-na-na-na-na! (teasing tone)
You can't catch me!
Na-na-na-na-na-na!
Could you kiss me! Could you kiss me! (teasing)

Situation: At care center to Joe (4/26)

A: You's big muscles, you's (s)trong.
You Superman.

Situation: Playing with Saara at her home. (5/4)

A: You's have many Sestame Street puzzles.
No fair, no fair!

The development of expressive utterances can be summarized in the following stages:

1st stage (September - November):	exclamations of delight, approval, dislikes, fear, and amazement; magic superwords, and sound effects.
2nd stage (January - February):	cajoles, approving and disapproving namings, and apologies.
3rd stage (March - May):	endearments, commiserations, blamings teasings, and statements of attitudes and feelings.

The development of the expressive mode was from the mild external indications to the strong personal, positive and negative expressions of feelings and attitudes.

Informative Mode. - During the first months of Antti's second language acquisition the informative mode appeared in repeating and naming objects. This partly reflected the teaching methods used in the kindergarten class.

Situation: Study session in the classroom (10/21)

Participants: Teacher, Antti (and other children)
(Little toys on the table)

T: Antti, which one do you choose?
A: (takes a car)
T: What is it?
A: --
T: That's a car. Say - car.
A: Ca
T: Car.
A: Car.

In this way Antti learned at least the words: *boy*, *ball*, *cat*, *car*, *cake*, *cup*, *can*, *monkey*, *marbles*, *money*, *mitten*, *mouse*, *mug*. In the same way he learned English names for numbers.

Situation: Study session in the classroom. (11/10)

Participants: Teacher, Antti

T: Antti, how many balls do you see in this picture?
A: Balls. (does not understand the question)
T: Count the balls.
A: --
T: one
A: one, two, three, four.
T: Good! There are four balls.

The example reveals that Antti did not actually understand the instructional word, but the cue word *one* directed him to count.

Later, after Christmas, Antti also used questions in order to make others label some objects:

What name? (pointing to a toy spider)
What's that? (pointing to a baseball glove)

Affirmations, denials, rejections, and evasions appeared next in Antti's functional repertoire.

Situation: At home, playing with English-speaking friend, Brian (1/28)

B: Whose are those two (small cars)? Yours?
A: No. (does not seem to understand since the cars are his.)
B: You guy's?
A: No. - Yeh, yeh, okay. (Suddenly seems to understand.)

Situation: Playing at home with Alex. (2/2)

Antti: Look, he dead.
Alex: Who killed him?
Antti: I don' know.
Alex: Who knows?
Antti: Not me.

After February, informative utterances started to expand from simple labels, affirmations, and denials to informative statements, positive and negative content questions, and justifications.

Situation: In the school library with librarian. (2/21)

L: Hey, Antti, where is Jun?
A: Jun no school.
L: Oh, Jun is absent today?
A: Yeh.

Situation: At home discussing with Taiwanese friend, Kem. (4/29)

A: Kem, you like hamburger?
K: No.
A: What you like? You eats Japanese food?
K: No.
A: What you eats?
K: I don't knew. (Kem has probably not understood the questions)

Situation: At the care center with mother and teacher, Norwell. (5/17)

M: Did you have a good day?
A: Yeh. We's go to Oakland....
Norwell, where we's go today?
N: Oakland Museum.
A: Yeh, Oakland Museum.
M: Really? What did you see there?
A: Snakes, big snakes!
M. Snakes? Didn't you see any paintings?
A: No, snakes, big snakes, little snakes! I was scared.

Situation: At home, parents are talking with neighbour about an earthquake. (5/14)

A: When earthquake is coming, yous put your hands like this your head.
Then go under table.

The informative mode seemed to expand quite slowly in the beginning. The stage of ostentions, repeating or labeling objects, seemed to last for four to five months. After that, the utterances expanded very fast with the growth of the sentence structure. The development of informative utterances can be described in the following stages:

1st stage (September - January): Repetitions, labels, affirmations, and denials.
2nd stage (February - May): Informative statements, different content questions, and justifications.

The trend in the development was from repetition of content words toward varied personal and general informative statements and questions.

In interpersonal communication the social mode appeared to serve as the primary function. The control, expressive, and informative utterances appeared later and they often seemed to serve social functions too. The functional development seemed to reflect a process of differentiation. The imaginative mode did not have a clearly independent role. Imaginative utterances could be analyzed in the context of the expressive function.

Procedural utterances did not seem to be so 'procedural' for a second-language-learning child, but represented rather social comment, or attention-calling expressions. Tutorial expressions could not be identified in this case.

Table 1 summarizes the functional categories and their development in interpersonal communication.

TABLE 1. The developmental stages of functional utterance types during the first eight months of Antti's second language acquisition.

	SOCIAL MODE	CONTROL MODE	EXPRESSIVE MODE	INFORMATIVE MODE
1st stage September to November	greetings farewells polite talk routines	wantings social directions attention-callers	exclamations of delight, dislike, etc. magic words sound effects	repetitions labels affirmations denials
2nd stage January to February	attention-getters playroutines commentary phrases invitations suggestions	attention-callers school commands requests commands	cajoles apologies approving and disapproving names	
3rd stage March to May	invitations suggestions polite openers rejections	prohibitions warnings threats offers solicitations	endearments commiserations blamings teasings statements of feelings and attitudes	informative statements positive/negative questions content questions justifications

The first stage can be characterized as a polite formulaic way for establishing social interaction with children and adults. The second-stage utterances reveal strong personal calling for attention and real interaction. The third stage reflects affective and functional differentiation in everyday speech situations.

Functions of Egocentric Speech. - Egocentric speech was used during the first months primarily for imitations and repetitions of English utterances. These utterances seemed to have a clear practice intention. Often the utterances appeared at first in egocentric speech and later in interpersonal communication. Sometimes the repetition of phrases resembled instructional drills used in formal second language classes.

Situation: Playing with toys at home. (11/18)
Hurry up, hurry up, hurry up.
Aiti, mitä hurry up tarkottaa?
(Mother, what does hurry up mean?)

Situation: Walking on the street.
No matter, no matter, no matter, no matter (3/2)
Don' take my money, boy, don' take my money, boy, (4/2)
don' take my money, boy... (with Black English intonation)

The repetitions sometimes resembled playing with words or phrases which seemed to sound interesting to the child.

Situation: Playing with toys. (2/16)
Somebody, somebody, some body, some body, body, body.

Situation: Coloring a book at home. (1/24)
Jingle, jingle, jingle bells,
jingle, jingle, jingle

During the first months some socially negative or otherwise delicate utterances for interpersonal communication were included in egocentric speech only. This kind of taboo utterances were, for example:

Kiss me, kiss me. (10/8)
Kiss me, honey! (1/18)
Shut up! (10/30)
Stupid! (11/28)
I hate you. (1/26)
I beat you up! (1/29)

They did not appear in interpersonal speech before March. During the last three months such utterances were also quite common in Antti's interpersonal communication.

Antti's English utterances gradually increased in egocentric speech in the form of role-playing. His most common imaginary playmates, the superheroes, Steve Austin (Six Billion Dollar Man), Tarzan, robbers and policemen gradually started to speak English. English seemed to sound more imaginative and exciting to the child. At first the magic names of superheroes added some magical quality to role-play. Later the whole speech of these role-mates changed into English:

Situation: At home playing by himself. (10/29)
C'mon, Superman, Superman!
Mä vielä voitan sinut (I gonna win you.)
Superman, Superman (singing)
ottaa kaikki miehet kiinni. (Catches every man.)
Okay.
Superman, Superman!
phew - phew - phew - phew (flying sound)

Situation: At home playing by himself. (4/24)
Spiderman menee sisään (goes in)
Can't get out, can't get out!
Help me! Help me!
Sitten se tukehtuu (Then he can't breathe anymore.)

Situation: At home playing by himself. (5/2)
Miehiä on tuolla sisällä (There are men inside)
ja ne tulee sieltä (and now they come)
What do you do there, boy?
Hey, monster
Watch out, baby
Youh-yuh (Tarzan's screaming)
Woi ne pelastaa sinut (They can rescue you)
Quiet! Me ollaan little robots (We are little robots)
Tule tänne, please.

Situation: Playing at home (5/8)
Pow-pow (shootings)
Hey, look, guns!
Pow-pow!
Get out of my way!
This my horse and I'm police, policeman.
Toi on (He is) police, too.

The use of English seemed to add some power and excitement to the utterances of the role-mates. However, there was a lot of mixing of the two languages in Antti's role speech.

During the last months Antti used English also in commentary intention associating with the action of the moment:

Situation: Antti is looking for something. (5/12)
Where they are?
Where they are?
Oh, here they are,
little shoes, little tennis shoes.

The development of egocentric functions and functional utterances can be characterized in Antti's case with the following two stages:

	FUNCTIONS	FUNCTIONAL UTTERANCE TYPES
1st stage September to January	Practice mode	Imitations, repetitions
	Playing mode	Changing imitations
	Taboo mode	Socially negative and delicate utterances
	Imaginative mode	Magic "super" names
2nd stage February to May	Role-playing	Role speech
	Imaginative mode	Powerful and exciting utterances
	Commentary mode	Action comments

Conceptual Intention

During the eight months Antti's home language was his mother tongue Finnish. In Antti's Finnish speech the amount of English gradually increased.

During the first months Antti used English words in Finnish speech mainly to label novel or untried objects of the new environment.

Lunchbox jäi autoon. (I forgot my lunchbox in the car.)
Minä katon sen big bird ohjelman. (I wanna see that big bird program.)
Anna mulle peanut butter sandwich. (Give me a peanut butter sandwich.)
Yhellä pojalla oli semmoset racing pants.
(One boy had that kind of racing pants.)

Situation: Telling about Tarzan to his father. (2/8)

A: Tarzan meni sitte spaceen. (Tarzan went then into the space.)
F: Mikä se space on? (What is the space?)
A: Se on planet. (It's a planet.)
F: Mikä se planet sitte on? (What is then the planet?)
A: Mikä? En minä tiiä. (What? I don't know.)

After Christmas Antti started compensating the most common nouns, adjectives, and verbs with English words even in his Finnish speech.

Schoolissa oli tänään semmone movie. (There was a movie at school today.)
Teacher sano että pitää mennä simming. (Teacher said that we have to go swimming.)

Miten tää room on näin messy? (How is this room so messy?)
Kato mun face, se on bleeding. (Look at my face, it's bleeding.)
Missä ne kaikki toys on? (Where are all the toys?)

In his Finnish speech Antti used English during the last months also for quotation purposes:

Situation: Talking about Joe, the teacher at the care center.

Joe teki näin, Look at my muscles, boy!
(Joe did like this...)

Situation: Quoting Kweli's promise.

Kweli sano care centerissä I come your house another day.
(Kweli said at the care center ...)

After March Antti avoided speaking Finnish outside the home if some English-speaking friends were listening. This integrative intention increased the use of English also when he was speaking to his parents.

Situation: Mother comes to pick up Antti at the care center. (4/27)

M: Hey, Antti, mä tulin jo. (Hey, Antti, I have come already.)
A: I saw you.
M: Mitä sä teet? (What are you doing?)
A: I'm drawing.
Where is black?
Kweli: Here it is.
A: I like this black. I like that guy. I like black guys.
(Kweli is laughing)

M: Eiks me lähetä jo? (Can't we go now?)
A: No!
M: Mitä sä nyt vielä piirrät? (What are you still drawing?)
A: No me tell you.
M: Miks et? (Why not?)
A: It's nothing.
M: Okay, let's go now!
A: Okay.

The functions of using English in mother tongue speech were the following:

1. Novel function: to label novel or untried objects.
2. Compensatory function: to compensate the most common words with second language.
3. Quotation function: to borrow the whole speech act for illustrative purposes.
4. Integrative function: to demonstrate the integrative intention.

Conclusion

This descriptive case study was only a small step in the exploration of the functional acquisition of a second language. Hopefully, it provided some new perspectives for further investigation. Individual differences or contextual, cultural, and situational factors that affect functional acquisition probably require more experimental examination. Comparative studies between first and second language functional learning at different age levels provides an interesting research area. The role of egocentric speech in second language acquisition emerged as the most fascinating problem for further investigation in the present study, since egocentric speech seemed to reveal the real secrets of the child's mind.

References

Antinucci, F., and D. Parisi 1975. Early semantic Development in Child Language, in E.H. Lenneberg and E. Lenneberg (eds.), Foundations of Language Development, New York: Academic Press.

Austin, J. 1962. How to do Things with Words. Oxford University Press, New York.

Bates, E. 1976. Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics in Child Language, in D.M. Morehead and A.E. Morehead (eds.), Normal and Deficient Child Language, Baltimore, Maryland: University Park Press.

Dore, J. 1974. A Pragmatic Description of Early Language Development, Journal of Psycholinguistic Research 3.

Dore, J. 1977. Children's Illocutionary Acts, in R. Freedle (ed.), Discourse Production and Comprehension, Norwood. N.J.: Albex Pub. Corp.

Ervin-Tripp, S. 1974. Is Second Language Learning like the First, TESOL, Quarterly, 8.

Fillmore, L.W. 1976. The Second Time Around: Cognitive and Social Strategies in Second Language Acquisition. Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.

Grice, P. 1968. Logic and Conversation (Manuscript).

Guiora, A.Z. 1972. Construct Validity and Transpositional Research: Toward an Experimental Study of Psychological Concepts, Comprehensive Psychiatry 13.

Hakuta, K. 1976. A Case Study of a Japanese Child Learning English as a Second Language, Language Learning 26.

Halliday, M.K. 1975. Learning How to Mean: Explorations in the Development of Language. London: Edward Arnold.

Huang, J., and E. Hatch 1978. A Chinese Child's Acquisition of English, in E. Hatch (ed.), Second Language Acquisition, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Lenneberg, E. 1967. Biological Foundations of Language. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Penfield, W., and L. Roberts 1959. Speech and Brain Mechanisms. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Piaget, J. 1926. The Language and Thought of the Child. Translated by M. Gabain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Ramirez, A.G., and R.L. Politzer 1978. Comprehension and Production in English as a Second Language by Elementary School Children and Adolescents, in E. Hatch (ed.), Second Language Acquisition, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Schumann, J.H. (no date) Affective Factors and the Problem of Age in Second Language Acquisition. Harvard University (Mimeographed).

Snow, C.E., and M. Hoefnagel-Hohle 1978. Age Differences in Second Language Acquisition, in E. Hatch (ed.), Second Language Acquisition, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Wells, G. 1973. Inter-Personal Purposes: Coding Manual for the Description of Child Speech. Bristol: School of Education, University of Bristol (Mimeographed).

ASPECTS OF THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN FRENCH

INGE BARTNING
University of Stockholm

The aim of this paper is to discuss how to integrate communicative competence in the teaching and learning of French as a foreign language in Swedish schools.

First I will briefly discuss the European Council proposal, the _Threshold Level_ by van Ek (1975) and its French equivalent, _Un Niveau Seuil_ by Coste et al. (1976), and then I will proceed to describe an experiment in teaching French on the basis of the learner's needs. Then I will describe the grammar, the vocabulary and some language functions of the material produced by the learners. Finally, restrictions of the method will be discussed and proposals for solutions made.

Background

At the beginning of the seventies, as is well known by now, the Council of Europe initiated a project to define a universal 'threshold level' for adults to communicate in a second language. The English version was published in 1975 by van Ek, and the French _Un Niveau Seuil_ in 1976 by Coste and his team at St Cloud, Paris. The purpose of this model is to give the framework for a common-core course, consisting of elementary needs for language functions, notions, topics, vocabulary and grammar that are considered to be basic for further language skills both professional and more general.

The _T-level_ consists of the following parts: a certain number of _situations_ (shop, hotel, bus, etc.), which may be considered as sociolinguistic variables. These situations are specified with _settings_ (indoors, geographical location, etc.) and _topics_ (house-home, travel, personal identification, etc.) which the learners are supposed to need. Then a section called _language functions_ is presented, ie. more abstract entities as "apologizing, warning, expressing facts, getting things done, etc." These functions may be considered as linguistic constants. This is followed by a section covering _general and specific notions_ like expressing "qualities, negation, existence", or relational entities such as "time, location, etc." and then finally the linguistic exponents are listed, ie. the basic vocabulary of a T-level. The content specification is supplemented with indications of what linguistic activities and what degree of skill the pupils are supposed to achieve.

Un Niveau-Seuil (NS) consists of three main parts: (1) Actes de paroles, the equivalent of van Ek's language functions, but in the NS this part is more exhaustive; (2) Objets et notions, which is a parallel section to general and specific notions in the T-level; and finally (3) a Grammaire, based on abstract semantic categories which are derived from theoretical linguists such as Pottier, Guillaume and Tesnière.

The two proposals differ especially in defining the target groups: the T-level is meant for travelling adults and tourists whereas in the NS there are four additional categories: (1) migrants; (2) professionals and experts; (3) children and young teenagers in the obligatory school system; and (4) older teenagers and younger adults in a school or university situation.[1]

The Swedish National Board of Education asked me to examine the English proposal (this was before the publication of the French version) in order to see if it could be applied to the teaching of French in Sweden.

Of course there is a great deal to be discussed and even to be questioned in the T-level but I found that it could be interesting to test the basic ideas of the T-level in a concrete second language situation, ie. to take the learner's own needs as a starting point for teaching.

Before I discuss the experiment, let me just briefly mention some of my main considerations.[2] First, the idea of taking notional and semantic categories as a basis for language description is far from being new.[3] I would also like to underline the apparent contradiction in the proposal between the explicit target specification, on the one hand, and the phenomenon of the learner's transfer ability, on the other, that is referred to and presupposed throughout the model.[4] Finally, in spite of the author's claims of a certain scientific basis and of the integration of recent linguistic results, no systematic explanations of the model or references are given. Unfortunately this applies to the NS as well.

---

[1] "School versions" of both the T-level and the NS have been published. For the English version, see van Ek 1976 and for the French one, see Porcher et al. 1978.

[2] See Bartning 1976.

[3] See eg. Brunot 1922.

[4] For this discussion, see Ljung 1978.

The Experiment

In the experiment I and my colleagues[5] asked the pupils to try to formulate their own language needs in order to influence the contents of their French teaching.

The experiment was made with pupils of French as a second and third foreign language at a secondary school in Stockholm. Using the T-level, the NS, their own experience and other subjective criteria, the teachers involved put together a document containing what we called "typical situations where one needs French". The proposals were made in Swedish and without any hierarchic ordering. This list was scrutinized by the pupils, modifications and additions were made and the result was a 23-point document. The first three points were:

1. greeting phrases
2. presenting oneself and one's family
3. going to the restaurant

Then a new set of material was presented to the learners; this time proposals of exponents (always in Swedish) were given under each headline of the 23-point document, e.g.

8. going shopping: the grocer's, supermarket, how to ask for quantity, sort, size, material, etc.

The pupils now scrutinized the whole material once more. Items were changed and added. The result was quite a rich document consisting of proposals from both teachers and learners.

The next problem was to develop a method of how to use this document. Here is a brief account for the method we finally used:[6]

Divided into groups of four or six, the pupils chose two situations they considered most important in the main document: A l'hotel and Au restaurant. These two situations were studied by all the learners. They were asked to find as many sentences as possible in Swedish or French that they considered necessary and natural for the two situations. Each group read their sentences aloud and tried to say them in French. All the sentences were written down, now in French, on overhead transparencies and slightly corrected by the teacher. A typical sentence at this stage was:

---

[5] Lisbet Mathieu and Eva Néri at Höglandsskolan, Bromma.

[6] The method was originally proposed and worked out by Marie Christine Malmport, LM Ericsson Telephone Company, Stockholm. For a more detailed account of the experiment, see Bartning, Mathieu, and Malmport 1978.

Je voudrais une chambre pour une nuit, s'il vous plait.

Out of this self-produced pool of material the participants now made dialogues. The teacher helped with words, politeness formulas, idiomatic expressions, and general support.

They learnt their parts by practising role play and performed the dialogues in front of the whole class. The dialogues were corrected once more, and finally given back to the pupils, so that they could keep their own texts. This is an example of a typical dialogue:

- Bonjour. Monsieur, je voudrais une chambre.
- Est-ce que vous voulez une chambre pour une ou deux personnes?
- Je voudrais une chambre pour deux. Ça coûte combien pour une nuit?
- Ça coûte deux cent francs.
- Alors je la prends.
- Vous avez des bagages?
- Oui.
- Alors je peux demander au portier d'aller les chercher?
- Merci bien, Monsieur.
- Voilà la clé de votre chambre.
- Merci, elle est à quel étage?
- Au deuxième, à droite. Voulez-vous écrire votre nom ici dans le fichier, s'il vous plait.
- Volontiers.

Comments on the method

The immediate advantage of this way of working was the remarkable activity and interest that the learners showed. They were very satisfied with having produced useful language material themselves.

Furthermore they were highly stimulated and motivated when they discovered that they could produce quite a lot of information in French in situations they found important. This seemed to be the first time they were really conscious of the fact that they *used* their French in the classroom situation.

Before I discuss the difficulties and limitations of the proposed method and the T-level philosophy, I will briefly comment on the linguistic aspects of the material produced by the learners. The material has now been extended to 36 dialogues from six different situations and topics, namely *A l'hotel*, *Au magasin*, *Au restaurant*, *A la gare*, *Les Vacances*, *Chez le docteur*, *Chez le dentiste*.

A linguistic account of the dialogues

The grammatical contents. - In Bartning et al. (1978) we advocated a linguistic investigation of the dialogues. The idea was to examine the grammar of the dialogues to see which phenomena were represented in order to intensify the teaching and learning of exactly these parts. This means turning traditional grammar teaching upside down: instead of constructing texts around grammatical structures which are traditionally considered the most important ones, the materials production now starts from the language needs, the grammatical structures are picked out and described, the teaching is focussed on these items.

In the preliminary analysis of the syntax and morphology of the dialogues, the following items were found to be the most frequent:

(1) yes/no questions:

- a. normal word order + intonation
- b. est-ce que questions
- c. inversion

(2) questions with interrogative words:

- a. interrogative pronouns
- b. " adverbs

(3) verb constructions

- a. regular verbs
- b. irregular verbs

(4) use of pronouns:
personal pronouns in the objective form in the context of

- a. simple tense
- b. past tense
- c. infinitive

(5) tense

- a. présent de l'indicatif
- b. conditionnel
- c. passé composé
- d. futur périphrastique, futur simple
- e. impératif
- f. imparfait

(6) articles

- a. article partitif
- b. negation of pas de, adverb + de
- c. definite article with verbs like aimer

(7) adverbs and adjectives

- a. comparison

These seven areas of grammar do not of course cover all the linguistic exponents of the dialogues but they contain the main part.

The fact that the dialogues contain many questions could be predicted, because the material consists of dialogues which reflect situations where one asks for favours, services, seeks information, etc.

As far as the verbs are concerned, the first group is dominant, as can be expected, among the regular verbs. Among the irregular ones the high frequency of pouvoir and vouloir is noticed. This is also understandable considering the typical service character of the situations: something is to be performed. The wishes are expressed in polite formulas containing vouloir and pouvoir. In such cases the conditionnel is used in French, and this is confirmed by the high frequency of this tense. The other frequent irregular verbs include avoir, être, faire, prendre and aller.[7]

Besides the conditionnel, the most frequent tenses are the présent de l'indicatif, the passé composé and the futur périphrastique.

As a consequence of the high frequency of vouloir and pouvoir as auxiliaries and of the use of the futur périphrastique, the most frequent position of objective personal pronouns was before the infinitive.

As far the use of the article is concerned, we found many examples of the article partitif; its use must be mastered when shopping and eating in France, as everyone knows.

The fact that knowledge of the comparison of adjectives and adverbs is necessary for shopping and eating in French is further confirmed by this material.

Comments on the grammatical contents. - What conclusions can be drawn from this result? Perhaps this is a preliminary answer to the question of what a pedagogical-communicative grammar in French could contain, ie. we have got a first model for a grammar that starts from the use of the language instead of its structure.[8]

For many learners this will simply be a reactivation of old grammatical knowledge but from a new point of view. They understand more easily the importance of knowing, eg., the conditionnel. They become aware of why they need to learn and master certain grammatical structures and grammatical exercises become more meaningful and coherent.

It is important to underline here that the grammatical items which are considered the most "communicative" and necessary should not be taught or learnt as isolated phenomena but with reference to their paradigms. Some items demand more basic forms of the paradigm, others more advanced ones: eg. to understand the form and the use of the conditionnel the learner must probably first be introduced to the présent and futur and for the comparative forms of adjectives and adverbs the positive and the superlative are needed. As Hyltenstam (1979) points out, we should probably go on with the same grammatical progression as before, ie. productive forms appear before non-productive, simple structures appear before more complex, etc.

---

[7] Cf. the first five verbs in modern French novel vocabulary examined by Engwall (1974:153): être, avoir, dire, faire, voir; then pouvoir, savoir, vouloir, prendre.

[8] Cf. Leech and Svartvik 1977 for this kind of grammar for English.

It is not the case, as some people might think, that we can throw grammar away when working within the communicative framework. On the contrary, and this is where research is needed, investigations of what grammatical structures correspond to different functions and semantic categories seem very important.

This kind of language description leads the teaching of foreign languages to questions like "How do you express past time in French?" and not "How do you use the imparfait/ passé simple in French?" One starts from the needs of expression rather than the linguistic forms.

Another important question to answer in this context is how the learner can be made to internalize meaningful generalisations of a language, not only grammatical generalisations but also functional and notional ones, which enable him to create utterances that he has not heard before and so deal with situations that neither the course designer nor the learner can predict.[9]

The Vocabulary. - It is needless to say that the choice of the situations governs the choice of the vocabulary in our material.

When using this type of teaching, sooner or later the well-known didactic conflict will appear between choosing the most frequent words and choosing words necessary for communication, ie. more informative words. Until recently, course designers, school authorities and authors of manuals were guided by the idea that the most frequent words are those to be learnt in the first place. But if you take only frequency into account, let us say the first 1500 words, this could result in only a few, or even none, of the primary needs of expression being covered.[10]

This conflict appears particularly at a basic level, where you want to choose words and espressions as frequent, 'easy', and general as possible, which at the same time should be adequate to the situation, need, or function.

---

[9] For a similar discussion, see Page 1978:98.

[10] For an interesting discussion of these problems, see Magnusson 1979.

Let us take an example: Is the French expression suffrage universel too difficult for a basic level? The problem cannot be put that way I think; if you speak of the political system of your country and if this topic is considered to belong to the learner's basic needs, then you must include this expression. If some needs can be seen to be more important than others, then these needs should be given priority even at a threshold level despite their degree of difficulty.[11] This leads to a discussion of what a basic vocabulary consists of or ought to consist of. This is, however, a subject far too vast to be taken up here.

Let me just mention that Un Niveau-Seuil has already become an important supplement and perhaps a competitor to the Français Fondamental in French didactics, as a unilingual word-phrase dictionary of spoken French, especially for the teacher and course designer.[12]

Speech acts and semantic categories. - The next step in the analysis should be a functional analysis. When we talk, we are doing different things at the same time; eg. we can inform people, ask them questions, persuade them, express greetings, promises, threats, thanks, orders, etc. These acts are speech acts or principal functions of utterances.

Language has developed certain types of utterances for principal functions of speech acts. In our material the following functions, among others, were represented.[13]

Principal Function:	Example:	Formal Characteristics:
1. Assertion (statement of objective facts)	J'ai une chambre pour vous au 1er étage	Finite verb in second position, preceded by subject
2. Questions (influencing the listener to give information)	Vous avez une salle de bain? Avez-vous...? Est-ce que vous avez...?	Word-order, intonation, particles
3. Imperative (influencing the actions of the listener)	Suivez-moi! Prenez celle-ci!	Verb in imperative at the beginning of phrase, pronoun after verb
4. Optative utterances (expressing wishes of the speaker)	Pourvu qu'il fasse beau demain	Conjunction +que + subjunctive of verb
5. Exclamations (expressing the speaker's emotions, attitudes, eg. joy, irritation, disappointment)	Quelle chance! Zut!	

---

[12] Cf. Hausmann 1979.

[13] The table was inspired by Linell (1978:184).

The problem here is not only to make an inventory of speech acts but also, once the categories have been described, how to teach them: should we integrate as many language functions as possible with a few linguistic exponents each or should we, instead, limit the number of the functions and give as many exponents as possible?

The answer could be a cyclic principle as suggested by Hyltenstam (1979:78): First you give a review of a great number of functions and notions, eg. ask, ask for, regret etc., with few exponents for each. In the next cycle you come back to the same function /notion and practise alternative exponents.

Such semantic categories supplement the teaching of grammar and vocabulary. In the shopping scene we just saw, you find the following categories of expression: greetings, asking for something, expressing choice or preference, expressing notions of size, colour, quantity, shape, accepting and declining, dealing with money, thanking and saying good-bye.

Perhaps we can agree with Page (1979:116), who writes about the same categories: "These are the categories of language which, over the next few years, will become as familiar to teachers as the categories of noun, perfect tense and aspect are now."

To get closer to this kind of grammar based on semantic categories, research is needed, especially concerning the French language, not only of what I have presented here, namely young learners' and their teachers' intuitive needs or other subjective needs and functions.

Concluding remarks

Let me summarize the advantages of the method and the problems and even dangers connected with this kind of teaching.

As was mentioned before, the immediate reaction among the learners was extremely positive. They felt motivated because they were given the chance to speak French in situations which they felt were meaningful. For the first time they seemed to be aware of the fact that they really used the foreign language.

However, it is quite clear that it is not sufficient to continue in this way, even on a larger scale, to find out what needs pupils have or will have: in general, young learners do not know and cannot know why they learn a foreign language at school. It is also evident that this method is concerned with productive skills rather than with receptive ones; it demands a fairly high degree of such skills as speech planning, access to vocabulary, rate of speech, pronunciation, intonation, etc. It goes without saying that receptive skills like reading and listening must also be practised.

Another problem concerns the vocabulary of the dialogues. There might be the danger that this kind of vocabulary becomes colourless, rather 'poor', and elementary even at more advanced levels, since it is principally based on the learners' own limited experience and knowledge (and not that of an inspired author of a manual). However this is a consequence of our method.

A similar consequence of the method and of T-level philosophy is the fact that the topics, the contents to be learnt, are typically 'self-centred' topics, here the learners being teenagers. Not only the vocabulary, but also the learner's attitude to language learning, is self-centred. One of the recognized non-linguistic goals of language teaching is to introduce new cultures and ideas to develop understanding between people of different nations. Thus it will be important to supplement the functional aspects with cultural ones.

A more serious problem often mentioned in connection with the functional-notional approach is concerned with the danger that the learner will end up with a set of phrase-book utterances in the form of lists learnt by heart, and not with effective competence, ie. creative linguistic competence. In a way this is exactly what is avoided by our method: we do not use ready-made lists of phrases; the learners create new texts with the help of the teacher, grammars, dictionaries and, why not, older phrase-books for tourists.[14]

What is really also tested is the teacher's spontaneous communicative and linguistic competence in French. If, or when, a communicative approach is introduced more widely, teacher training must be altered in this respect.

It seems reasonable to let the knowledge that we have about functions and notions enrich the structurally based grammars and curricula which we use, rather than replace them. At the present moment it seems to be beyond discussion that knowledge of grammatical structure is more powerful and economical in generating great numbers of sentences than knowledge of semantic categories.

It is advisable to work on two levels, systematically: the linguistic contents with functional and notional aspects and the linguistic expression. In this way the learner builds up a grammatical system which will work for the new language.

[14] Cf. Page 1979.

Bibliography

Bartning, I. 1976. Allmänna synpunkter på Europarådets förslag till en tröskelnivå i främmande språk med särskild tanke på franskundervisningen i Sverige. Internal report for the Swedish Board of Education, Stockholm.

Bartning, I., L. Mathieu, and M.-C. Malmport 1978. Språk i gymnasieskolan. Vad vill eleverna? Lingua 1, 10-14.

Brunot, F. 1922. La pensée et la langue. Paris.

Coste, D., J. Courtillon, V. Ferenczi, M. Martins-Baltar, and E. Papo 1976. Un Niveau-Seuil. Conseil de la Coopération culturelle du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg.

van Ek, J. 1975. The Threshold Level. Council for Cultural Co-operation, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

van Ek, J. 1976. The Threshold Level for Modern Language Learning in Schools. London: Longman.

Engwall, G. 1974. Fréquence et distribution du vocabulaire dans un choix de romans français. Stockholm: Scriptor.

Hausmann, F.J. 1979. Neue Wörterbücher für den Französischunterricht oder: Was ist ein Schulwörterbuch?, Die Neueren Sprachen 78, 331-351.

Hyltenstam, K. 1979. Tröskelnivån i ett språkninlärnings- och språkundervisningsperspektiv, Praktisk Lingvistik 2, 71-111.

Leech, G., and J. Svartvik 1977. A Communicative Grammar of English. London: Longman.

Linell, P. 1978. Människans språk. Lund: Liber.

Ljung, M. 1978. Europarådets tröskelnivå, Lingua-Språkpedagogik 15, 1-5.

Magnusson, G. 1979. Tyska ord I-II, Moderna Språk 23, 147-162, 239-249.

Page, B. 1978. Graded examinations, Modern Languages 59, 97-101.

Page, B. 1979. Notions, functions and Threshold levels: a review of the significance for language teachers of the work of the Council of Europe, Audio-Visual Language Journal 17, 115-121.

Porcher, L., M. Huart, and F. Mariet 1978. Adaptation de Un Niveau-Seuil pour des contextes scolaires. Conseil de la Coopération culturelle du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg.

PREDICTION AND REFLECTION IN READING IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

DONALD ADAMSON
Longman English Teaching Services

The teaching of reading in a foreign language is rather a mysterious activity. It is certainly less well researched than the teaching of reading in the mother tongue. We are not really sure exactly what to teach or how we can best teach it, how far we should teach along L1 lines, how far we should expect transfer from L1 reading, how far L2 reading presents problems of its own which should be dealt with in different ways, and so on. Since we are rather short of hard experimental evidence, we rely a lot on supposition. One such supposition, which I shall adhere to in this paper, is that ideas which are relevant to the general development of reading skills in the mother tongue are also relevant to foreign language reading. Another supposition is that we are justified in using our intuition about material, and our experience of how it works in the classroom - since material would seldom be written if we had to wait for absolute proof of the effectiveness of the techniques incorporated in it. In any case, in this paper I shall be demonstrating, and advocating certain procedures and formats in comprehension materials; these are procedures which have been influenced by current views of the reading process. A good introduction to this general approach (with respect to L1 reading) and one which goes beyond intuition into experimental back-up may be found in Lunzer and Gardner's The Effective Use of Reading (1979).

Before going into this, I would like to consider the kind of reading work which has traditionally been found in the language class. Traditionally, students read a passage, and then answer questions about it. The passage may be long or short. The questions may allow 'open' answers or have a multiple choice or true/false format. There may also be questions related to language points exemplified in the passage so that the passage becomes an excuse for work on grammar and vocabulary. Now if there is one thing which I hope we would agree on, it is that activities like this have not got much to do with the kind of reading which a student would normally do outside the classroom, in any language. A student doing this kind of exercise may read, but he will not be behaving like a reader. And I think that this should make us suspicious of this traditional type of activity, as far as the advancing of reading skill is concerned.

There is another point to be made about the traditional comprehension exercise. Very often questions demand reference to the passage and only to the passage. We find phrases like 'According to the writer, what is such-and-such?' In other words, the student has to pick out what the writer of the passage says, and is in effect forbidden to link up the content of the passage with his own knowledge or opinions. Now I suggest that this is completely counter to the natural reading process, ant that this kind of question is not just useless, but actually likely to be harmful. Of course, I know it is important to distinguish the opinion of the writer from one's own opinion, but it is natural to do this in contexts where one's own opinion is valid and important and brought out into the open; and this in turn is a natural state of affairs in contexts which engage the reader emotionally and intellectually. But to demand this in passages which exist merely to provide reading for the sake of reading is, I suggest, simply encouraging an artificial approach to reading.

So, let us ask the question, 'What is a reader?' Well, first of all, in normal circumstances, a reader is one who has a purpose in reading. The purpose may be one of obtaining information, or intellectual pleasure, or emotional satisfaction. But it will not be reading for the sake of reading unless one happens to be in a classroom and is made to read by a teacher. This should worry us as teachers; I mean the artificiality of reading in the classroom, the element of compulsion in the reading task. But we can alleviate this artificiality. The main thing to remember is that genuine purpose in reading relates very much to the integration of new knowledge with existing knowledge. The reader reads in order to add something to what he or she already has. Now perhaps we cannot create a genuine purpose in the classroom, but we can try to make sure that the activity is genuine in so far as it is designed to link up with the knowledge or experience which the student already has. We can do this in two ways. First of all, obviously, we want the students to read material which tells them something they do not know already, or which tells things in a new way, or which conveys some emotional or aesthetic experience (so the text could be a scientific article, or a poem, or a novel; but it must contribute something to experience, yet not be divorced from it). This is very nearly a platitude, except that it is not so easy to achieve. The second thing is to have a format which emphasises the reader's knowledge, opinions or experience just as much as the content of the text. This means that we should use the reader's knowledge as a starting point, before presenting the text, not treat the reader's ideas as something to be discussed at the end of the lesson, long after the text has been read.

EXAMPLE 1

UNIT SEVEN **PEOPLE AND POWER**

SECTION I

A WOMAN'S PLACE

1. **What do you think?**

   1.1 What power do members of a family have? In particular, what about the role of women in the family? How much power does a woman have as a wife or mother?

   Say whether you agree or disagree with these statements. Put a x in the margin if you disagree; a ✓ if you agree.

   The role of wife and mother is the most rewarding one for a woman

   A woman is likely to be happier if she can work outside the home

   As wives and mothers women have a lot of power in the family

   A woman is inevitably subservient to a man in the family

   It is quite impossible for men and women to be equal partners in marriage

   A mother is always the best person to look after her child

   We must look for alternatives to the traditional role of women in the family

2. Below is an extract from a book by a writer, well-known for her feminist beliefs. In the book she challenges conventional views about women

   2.1. Read the extract below and as you read note whether you agree or disagree by putting ✓ or x in the margin (if you agree strongly put ✓✓ ; if you disagree strongly put xx)

The unfortunate wife-mother finds herself anti-social in many ways. The home is her province, and she is lonely there. She wants her family to spend time with her for her only significance is in relation to that almost fictitious group. She struggles to hold her children to her, imposing restrictions, waiting up for them, prying into their affairs. They withdraw more and more into non-communication and thinly veiled contempt. She begs her husband not to go out with the boys, marvels that he can stand in the pouring rain at the football and then be too tired to mend the roof or cut the grass on the finest day. She moans more and more that he doesn't care what the children are up to, that discipline is all left to her, that nobody talks to her, that she's ignorant, that she had given the best years of her life to a bunch of ungrateful hooligans. Politics is a mystery and a boring one; sport is evidence of the failure of men to grow up. The best thing that can happen is that she take up again where she left off and go back to work at a job which was only a stop gap when she began it, in which she can expect no promotion, no significant remuneration, and no widening of her horizons, for the demands of the household must still be met. Work of all kinds becomes hypnotic. She cleans, she knits, she embroiders. And so forth. Every wife must live with the knowledge that she has nothing else but home and family.

Example 1 begins with pre-text questions which explore the reader's opinions prior to actually embarking on the text (from advanced reading material by Barr, Glegg and Wallace, forthcoming).

What are some other characteristics of a reader? Well, if we think of a reader as a person with a purpose and with knowledge, it is easy to see that the reader is one who is actively engaged in what he is reading, all the time he is reading. The reader does not start out with some knowledge, read the text through as a whole, and then slot the new information in. Rather, the reader absorbs and integrates information as he goes along. I cannot stress this too much. Reading is a reading process, not a 'having read' achievement. So we should have questions which allow the evaluation of the text as the text goes along, questions within the text. Even if answers require revision in the light of subsequent chunks of text, that is quite satisfactory, because that is what happens when we read naturally.

Again in Example 1 we have questions along with the text, which encourage evaluation of the opinions expressed in the text as the text is read.

Focussing more closely on the active involvement of the reader with the text, we have what is perhaps the most important characteristic of a reader. A reader is one who is making hypotheses about what he is reading, both about the meaning of what he has read, and very importantly, the content which he is going to read. This is the reader taking part in a 'psycholinguistic guessing game' (Goodman, 1967), the reader considered as a person who is guessing what subsequent chunks of text are going to say. This is a most interesting aspect, and one which may be at the heart of any kind of efficient reading. Example 2 (again by Barr, Clegg and Wallace) is an example of a comprehension format which aims at encouraging the employment of this 'predictive' skill.

Now this kind of hypothesis forming by the reader seems to me to be particularly relevant to ESP. In a lot of specialist writing, it seems, the structure and content of a text is fairly predictable. And in certain kinds of scientific writing, reading the text involves tuning in to the argument or reasoning of the writer, and arriving at a conclusion along with the writer, which is very much an active, predictive involvement with the text. Thus, in Example 3 it is possible for a scientifically-aware student to guess that the next paragraph will report the observation that light from distant galaxies shows a 'red shift', and the conclusion that galaxies are receding from us, which is the basis for the theory of the expanding universe.

EXAMPLE 2

PART 3

WINDMILLS

Some people think we must find alternative forms of energy which are safer and not wasteful of resources - such as windmills.

The following text comes from a weekly news magazine.
Read the text and try to answer the questions within
Use a mask to cover the part of the text you have not read.

> There is a burgeoning of windmills. They are springing up in the fields and large gardens, some big enough to make a useful contribution to the energy needs of the household and others so small as to be only entertaining experiments. Recently the world's governments have shown an interest. The United States and Canada, West Germany and Israel, Japan and the United Kingdom, all

From the text above what features to these countries have in common that is relevant here? Read on ...

> have plans
>
> for wind-driven electricity generators.
>
> There is even a project for a very large windmill on the South Downs that will heat greenhouses. The attraction is the energy that the wind will give us free. In reality, of course,

What point is he going to make about the real situation?

> you no more get free energy from the wind than you get free steam power because someone happens to give you a bucket of coal. You must harness the energy in both cases. And although your windmill's raw energy, unlike coal, is free, you still have to harness it in the most economical way for your particular needs. Which is why you choose a

Can you say, in very general terms what comes next?

> bicycle-wheel windmill that will charge a car battery and thus keep your Sony TV going, or a home-built Cretan windmill that will warm your house.
>
> If wind mills are to be more than emotionally attractive, the cost of the energy they produce, in terms of basic cost plus maintenance, must compare with the cost

- of what?

> or at least, the only reasonably inflated cost, of energy from other sources. Even the bicycle-wheel generator, unless you build it from scrap

- what point will be made in the second half of this sentence?

EXAMPLE 3

(A previous section of the passage has already described the 'Doppler effect' according to which the wavelength emitted by a receding body is greater than the wavelength emitted by a stationary body. Students have also seen a page containing photographs of the spectra of various galaxies).

The Austrian Physicist, J. Doppler (1803 - 53) discovered this behaviour in sound waves, and it explains the well-known change of pitch of a train whistle as it approaches and passes us. The same principle applies to light. Every atom emits light of definite wavelengths which appear in a spectroscope as a series of coloured lines - a different series for each atom. If the atom is a receding body all the lines have slightly longer wavelengths than usual and the amount of the change depends uniquely on the speed. Longer wavelengths mean that the light is redder than usual, so that the light from a receding body shows what is known as a 'red shift'. The speed of recession depends on the amount of red shift.

Question: Can you guess what was discovered about the light from distant galaxies, and what this implied about the galaxies?

Of course, not all scientific writing is like this; much of it (for example in engineering and biology) is concerned with the description of static and dynamic systems. Yet even in those scientific texts which are less concerned with inductive or deductive reasoning, there does seem to be a high degree of predictability in the rhetorical structure, and this is something that the reader can be encouraged to take advantage of.

So much for the theory. What about the actual practice inside the classroom? I would like to report briefly on the reactions of students who tried out material incorporating this 'predictive' format. These were students of science at an English-medium faculty in a Middle East university. The students were extremely able, but were not accustomed to an English course in which they had nothing to learn in the sense of nothing to memorise. At first, activities in which they were required to predict the content of a text puzzled some of them. What was there to learn? How could they improve their performance? These are valid questions, which touch on the fundamental problems of how we teach a skill and how we know we have taught it. Probably, the best way of improving one's skill in prediction is by doing it, and there is little scope for the 'memorisation' type of learning which our students were accustomed to.[1] Note however that it was probably the unusualness of the activity which worried the students. They would probably have been quite happy doing traditional comprehension work, which really has the same problems, but which people are accustomed to, and which is accepted as a valid classroom activity, almost without question. Yet, as with all classroom activities which involve learning-by-doing rather than learning-by-memorisation, one has to look for ways of finding out whether students are actually learning anything.

Partly because of this necessity, and partly because of the strong orientation towards classroom testing in the university, we were led to try to construct classroom tests involving prediction. Pages of a text were handed out one at a time, and students asked questions involving the prediction of content of the subsequent page. Answers were collected, then the subsequent page given out. And so on.

EXAMPLE 4

(The author is discussing the misuse of figures in statistical arguments.)

Unfortunately, so few people understand any statistics that they are apt to take an author's word for statistical evidence. Where statistics are quoted, take a good look at what is being said, and apply a bit of ordinary common sense. It may well be that either the figures are wrong, wrongly used, or based on criteria which you are unable to accept as valid.

Take the following example from a recent article in a reputable journal which I am sure would never have appeared in its present form if the editor had known any statistics. Two groups of girls (86 girls in each group) aged sixteen to twenty were matched for various things. One group had volunteered to go on an 'Outward Bound' Course (a course involving camping and outdoor activities). The other group had not.

Question 1: What do you think the rest of the paragraph will deal with? Explain your answer.

Question 2: The next sentence is:

(a) Approximately nineteen months later, the two groups were compared again.

(b) The conclusion of the experiment was as follows:

(c) This was bad experimental procedure.

---

[1] But it might be possible to give probabilistic rules of discourse which would help the student. I believe that discourse analysis could be usefully applied in helping student to anticipate what a writer is likely to do at particular points in a discourse.

A page from initial attempt to construct such a 'test' is shown in Example 4, and some of the problems which arise may be appreciated by anyone who cares to try to answer the questions (Answers: 1. The rest of the paragraph deals with the experimental procedure; 2. The next sentence is 'Approximately nineteen months later ...': the paragraph explains how the groups were tested to find if any personality differences had developed between the groups). The main problem is that although with hindsight the progression of any text may seem logical and obvious, there can be substantial disagreement among native speakers about what the subsequent content of a text will be, while the text is actually being read. One answer is to have consultation with native speakers to make sure that there is agreement about what is likely to follow. The problems are comparable to (but greater than) those involved in marking cloze test, counting as correct 'any acceptable response', one way of determining correct responses being to have a kind of opinion pole of native speakers.

In subsequent 'tests', we did gradually manage to eliminate some of the worst problems, in that it seemed that the tests had more face validity as far as students were concerned, and were becoming slightly more reliable. Yet, even if one would not like to press the procedure too far as a reliable testing instrument, 'prediction' still has real value for the teacher as a classroom procedure. It allows an insight into the cognitive processes which are at work when a reader approaches a text, and it is particularly illuminating on the role of background knowledge and experience in comprehension. Students too, after initial puzzlement, seem to find the procedure absorbing.

To sum up: The immediate value of this type of work is, I believe, in the break it makes with established habits of looking at texts as completed artefacts, rather than as opportunities for mental interaction. The long-term value of 'predictive' work has not yet been proved, but it involves an activity which may, in principle, be amenable to classroom testing. Moreover, the investigations of Lunzer and Gardner (1979) referred to earlier also point to ways in which the value of predictive and reflective work can be studied. In the meantime, work of this kind can be readily incorporated in comprehension materials and tried out in the classroom, giving teachers the opportunity to evaluate it from their own experience.

Bibliography

Barr, P., J. Glegg, and C. Wallage (forthcoming). Advanced Reading Comprehension Material. London: Longman.

Goodman, K. 1967. Reading: A Psycholinguistic Guessing Game, Journal of the Reading Specialist 6, 126-135.

Lunzer, E. and K. Gardner 1979. The Effective Use of Reading. London: Heinemann.

LEXICAL SEMANTICS AND ITS APPLICATION TO SECOND AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE VOCABULARY LEARNING AND TEACHING

KAY WIKBERG
University of Tromsø

Introduction

The title of my paper is probably slightly misleading. At one time I was inclined to turn it into a survey of current research, but then found that rather too ambitious for a 20-minute paper. Obviously lexical semantics is only one of the fields of research that can help us to understand vocabulary learning. Like the relationship between general linguistics and FLT, that between lexical semantics and FLL and FLT is indirect. To the extent that I stress the inadequacy of lexical semantics for the purposes I have in mind I will, however, go beyond what the title implies.

A mistake not infrequently made by applied linguists is to assume that new developments in linguistics should have immediate applications to teaching. In this decade, which one is now justified to look at in a historical perspective, we have learnt a great deal about what is happening when people communicate, how language functions in society, what texts are made of, what language learners are like, and so forth. Wilkins reminds us that it is problems in teaching a FL that should provide the starting point, and not the reverse:

> We do not take developments in linguistics and look for ways of applying them to teaching. Instead, we face problems in language teaching and in trying to solve them we look at the evidence from linguistics.
>
> (Wilkins 1972:228)

In spite of the title of my paper I shall feel free to adopt a pedagogical point of view as well, at the same time as I would not like to forget the most important factor of all, the learner.

In language didactics there is room for findings both from the study of language as a PRODUCT and language as a PROCESS. Characteristically, the mainstream of linguistics deals with language as a PRODUCT, as something ready-made, something that can be taken to pieces. Words or lexical items would be the most typical examples of language as a PRODUCT. Words can be stored in glossaries and dictionaries. Some people even believe that words can be stored in your mind. Words are ready-made in a sense that sentences are not, although this does not prevent words from being subject to processes such as inflection and word-formation. There are of course larger prefabricated units than lexical items, e.g. institutionalized speech acts, but I shall not be dealing with those here.

There is a growing interest in vocabulary and I would no longer quite agree with those who maintain that this is a neglected field of research (cp. Levenston 1979). Admittedly, in INTERLANGUAGE ANALYSIS, i.e. the study of language learners' language, syntax and morphology have attracted more attention than lexis. The mere profusion of words and the difficulty in bringing some order into what one tends to think of as disparate elements have no doubt been offputting. Even so there is a considerable body of knowledge to draw on. This knowledge is derived from lexical semantics, contrastive lexical semantics, L1 acquisition, word association studies, error analysis, and the study of how learners with a limited linguistic repertoire cope with the FL in communicative situations. This includes what have been called COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES, such as paraphrases, transfer, and avoidance strategies (Palmberg 1978:140ff.).

Finally it should be added that nobody doubts the usefulness of vocabulary research. There are several investigations of error gravity which show that native speakers regard lexical errors as more serious than grammatical errors (Engh 1971; Johansson 1978). Anybody who has had to manage with a minimal vocabulary in a FL knows that you can generally communicate to some extent without grammar.

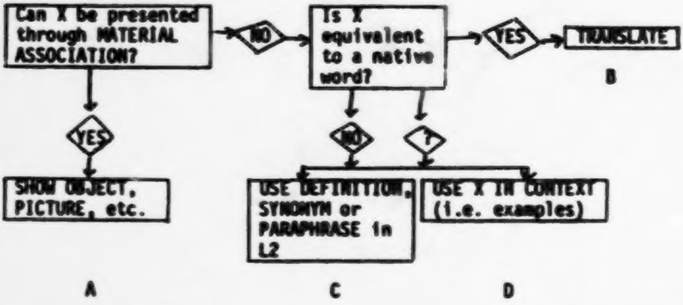
Some uses of lexical semantics

Theoretical preliminaries. - Lexical semantics is concerned with theories of how the lexicon in a theoretical sense is structured in languages, and how the meaning of lexical items can best be described. Our view of vocabulary learning can therefore be affected by semantic theory. There are two developments in lexical semantics that are particularly worth noting. One is the description of sense-relationships, i.e. a word or lexical item part of a system of relationships with other lexical items in the vocabulary (= STRUCTURAL SEMANTICS; cf. Lyons 1968:427). According to this view, words are products but not semantically isolated units. Another way of looking at meaning is to describe the meanings of words in terms of bundles of components (Lyons 1968:427ff,; Leech 1974). This is referred to as COMPONENTIAL ANALYSIS. The two views are by no means mutually exclusive.

Since you can hardly get away from your native language as a FL learner, CONTRASTIVE LEXICAL SEMANTICS is essential for the understanding of some aspects of lexical difficulty. This would involve mapping the meanings of FL items on to those of equivalent items in L1, and more widely, comparing the ways in which L2 and L1 cut up parts of the world in terms of lexical items.

Semanticizing, presenting and selecting vocabulary. - The first words most beginners in a FL are still exposed to are usually words referring to people, objects and activities in the immediate environment. The setting can of course also be a representation of the foreign country. The contribution of lexical semantics to this area is rather trivial. Learners quickly realise that L2 uses different words for the same or very similar referents. What they do not realise so easily, however, is that even with very common words there is seldom a one-to-one relationship between a word in L1 and an equivalent word in L2. To a large extent one might look upon this sort of vocabulary learning as a form of RELEXIFICATION, the replacement of the lexicon of the mother tongue with the lexicon of the target language (Todd 1974:36). Relexification is based on the dangerous assumption that L2 and L1 are semantically isomorphic.

This is not the right place to deal with the role of translation in vocabulary teaching, but I would like to repeat what Harold Palmer wrote on this subject (Palmer 1968 (1917):49ff.). If one works out an algorithm for the presentation of word meaning according to Palmer, it looks as follows:


Can X be presented through MATERIAL ASSOCIATION?
NO
Is X equivalent to a native word?
YES
TRANSLATE
B
YES
SHOW OBJECT, PICTURE, etc.
NO
?
USE DEFINITION, SYNONYM or PARAPHRASE in L2
USE X IN CONTEXT (i.e. examples)
A
C
D

There is a certain ordering so that A is to be preferred to B whenever this does not conflict with any pedagogical or didactic principles. Obviously the use of visual presentation is particularly useful in the early stages of teaching a FL whereas all the other modes would be more common later.

If one realises that one cannot prevent learners from making internal translations, it is no use trying to avoid giving the translation of words whose meaning would otherwise remain unclear. But it is one thing to present the meaning, another thing to make the learner internalize the meaning, or semanticize the word, as Palmer called it (Palmer 1968:49). For the internalization, it is necessary to relate the word to others which tend to cluster around it in communication, to make use of modes C and D in Palmer's set-up. This is where lexical semantics comes into the picture because it can help to organize our knowledge of lexical equivalent and other aspects of semantic structure. There is a potential extension of lexical semantics here to text semantics. It is well known that for a dialogue or text to cohere there usually must be at least some lexical items that are connected semantically. This is not a sufficient condition on textual coherence, but one that non-linguists would be most aware of. Functional teaching materials would try to relate such clusters of words to communicative tasks that appeal to particular groups of learners.

The chief objective of learning vocabulary is to expand the learner's communicative resources, to deal with new concepts, themes and situations in the FL. Part of the recent interest in the CONTENT of FLT is no doubt due to the work done on the specification of language teaching objectives by experts for the Council of Europe. The main criterion for inclusion of an item, grammatical or lexical, in the functional/notional approach is COMMUNICATIVE VALUE (van Ek 1977:151). This is not the same as frequency since one can very well imagine that frequency lists do not necessarily reflect the communicative tasks that language learners should be expected to master after they have been through 6 or 7 years of English. A critical comment could, however, be made on the specification of LEXICAL content in the Threshold Level.

The main emphasis in this specification is on behavioural objectives. By being very explicit in the description of objectives the Threshold Level gives a very good idea of what the language learner should be expected to do in a European setting. Any lexical inventory or word list is, of course, easily open to criticism for the simple reason that it is a list. When looking at the T-Level lexicon, one gets the impression that the T-Level aims at the middle-class tourist who never gets to the point of being emotionally involved in anything. Thus the T-Level list is very poor on adjectives. Adjectives such as angry, funny, exciting, lovely, wonderful, foolish, pleased, great and poor are all missing although they seem to be essential words in ordinary conversation to describe emotions, attitudes and personal experiences. All of these words are actually found in the base list for the Finnish comprehensive school (VIKKE 1976).

As far as vocabulary is concerned, the main emphasis now seems to be on the quality rather than the quantity of words, which is in line with developments in syllabus design. From the learner's point of view, it would also be valuable to have information on how to learn vocabulary. The insights that can be gained from lexical semantics are no doubt limited but should not be neglected.

The structure of the vocabulary. - Fillmore in a paper from 1978 raises the question to what extent the description of one lexical item can make reference to specific lexical items (Fillmore 1978:148). The FL teacher's question would rather be: to what extent can I refer to other words in L2 when teaching the meaning of a particular word (= Palmer's mode C)? And the well motivated learner, when faced with communicative difficulty, would try to get around the difficulty by finding a more general word or some paraphrase or some other device that he thinks would work with the person he is speaking to.

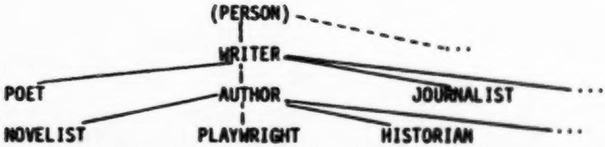
Recent research shows that the cognitive and perceptual categories which underlie semantic relations are based on our ways of perceiving the world. Thus HYPONYMY has to do with hierarchical arrangement, ANTONYMY is based on differences or contrasts whereas SYNONYMY relies on identity or rather close similarity. Of these relationships I shall here have to confine myself to hyponymy.

Hyponymy. - Dictionary definitions often contain very general items such as person in the definition of writer in LDCE:

a person who writes as a job or who has written a particular thing

As Lyons has pointed out (1977:298), the word person is on a par with other very general lexical items like animal, fish, bird, insect, thing, place, stuff, material, quality, property and state. All of them serve as some sort of lexical anaphora.

Typically the definition above contains another general noun, thing. The lexical hierarchy that writer is part of does not really become interesting until one starts looking at what such a thing can be (a poem, a book, an article, and so forth). Without giving an exhaustive analysis, the following illustration may help to show what I have in mind:



For teaching purposes I would claim that it is important to realise that novelist, playwright, and so on are HYPONYMS of author, which in turn is subordinated to writer. It would, I think, help more advanced learners to organize their vocabulary if exercise books contained visual representations of such relationships between words.

Ann-Marie Cornu, in a paper presented at the 5th International Congress of Applied Linguistics, pointed out that there is a difference between abstract and concrete words in their needs for superordinate concepts in teaching (Cornu 1978). She maintained that since there is available evidence that superordinate concepts are remembered first, one should also make use of this in FLT. But some researchers have shown that concrete words are less dependent on superordinate concepts than abstractions are. A word like vehicle is by no means necessary for anybody to understand the meaning of car or bicycle. Vehicle seems to be a word which is typical of the language of dictionary definitions and traffic regulations rather than that of everyday conversation.

Componential analysis. - Componential analysis involves breaking down the meaning of a word into its semantic components, the combination of which is normally unique to any given word or item. The classic example is the analysis of man, woman, boy and girl:

	HUMAN	MALE	ADULT
man	+	+	+
woman	+	-	+
boy	+	+	-
girl	+	-	-

The implication is that each word must have the given list of features to refer to a man, woman, etc. Detailed componential analysis has been made of kinship terminology, verbs of possession, cooking and judging, and several other fields (Clark and Clark 1977:430). Some of the best known semanticists adhere to this theory (Katz 1972; Leech 1974).

In applied linguistics, componential analysis can be particularly useful when there is a need to sort out the meanings of the various items in closely-knit semantic fields. Such needs may arise at more advanced levels in translation and the teaching of language for special purposes. At school level, applications would be too atomistic and abstract. It should be noted that the components are not words and that, as soon as the analyst enters unexplored semantic domains, the choice of components becomes a venture if the analysis is possible at all. Even the most devoted practicians are aware of the limitations of this approach to semantic analysis (cf. Clark and Clark 1977:429-32). In FLT contexts the description of the meaning of words in terms of components is very much like describing a person in terms of sex, age, height, the colour of his eyes and hair. But one would also like to know what he is like as a person (CONNOTATIONS), what sort of job he has (GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION), and who he mixes with (COLLOCATIONS).

Collocations. - A knowledge of collocations, i.e. words that go together as lexical items, can be relevant even at an early stage although it would be more typical of advanced lexical competence (cf. Marton 1977). An example will illustrate this. A word like *tall* usually appears early in courses as a property of human beings (a *tall* girl - a *small* girl). Next *tall* may occur with words like *tree* or *tower* as a synonym of *high*. But there are also concrete words such as *grass* and *neck* which would take *tall* but not *high*. For the study of collocations there is now access to corpuses from which one can quickly extract information which can be useful in lexicography, but indirectly also in FLT, such as in course-design and exercises. Because of the idiosyncrasy in this area and the various degrees of collocational restrictions it would, however, be hazardous to make predictions about vocabulary learning on the basis of collocational analysis.

Collocations with *tall* and *high*

	tall	high
girl	+	-
grass	+	-
tree	+	+
tower	+	+
price	-	+
voice	-	+
standard	-	+

Word association studies

There is no obvious link between lexical semantics and word association studies except that semantic theory can be used to explain word associations (Clark 1970). Methodologically, word association studies appear to be totally contrary to the present concern with integrative skills and language in communication: you give a stimulus word to the testee, who is expected to respond by writing down the first word that comes to his mind. Thus cold may yield warm or winter, warm being paradigmatic, winter syntagmatic. Young learners tend to give more syntagmatic responses than adults or advanced learners, who give more paradigmatic responses. This kind of research has a long tradition, but it has recently attracted the attention of scholars who hope to be able to find out about how language learners' interlanguage lexicon is structured.

In an investigation from the early 1970's Heuer (1973) compared the responses of German learners of English and American college students to English stimulus words. It turned out that even after many years of English, German learners produced responses which could be traced to the native language or to the teaching materials. CRY elicited shout and loud or nothing in the Germans while the Americans responded by tears, weep or sob. This may suggest that at German schools the emotive aspect of the word had been ignored. It also shows the native speaker's ability to provide synonyms compared with the L2 learner.

In a more recent study Meara (1978) looks at English schoolgirls' responses to 100 French stimulus words, which were compared with native speakers' responses. The results showed that the semantic organization that could be detected in the language learners' responses reflected a translation from English, i.e. the mother tongue. Many responses were purely FORMAL, and generally the language learners' responses were much more arbitrary and sporadic than those of the native speakers.

Kielhöfer (1978) has also studied responses to French stimulus words but with German learners. He attempts to relate the learners' interlanguage lexicon to a continuum from L1 to L2. Heterogeneity in the language learners' responses is noted by Kielhöfer as well. But he adds an important dimension by looking at word associations which can be derived from linguistic, socio-cultural, and affective factors. Thus it appears that Frenchmen seldom associate vin with bière or vice versa. To the German learners, however, Bier was the first response to Wein, the second being trinken. Kielhöfer interprets this as evidence of socio-cultural differences, which he thinks makes the semanticizing of words more difficult. In order to minimize stereotyped attitudes to the culture of L2 in FLT it would be valuable to have more information on socio-cultural differences as reflected in word association studies. Such information could be made use of in the design of teaching materials and in the actual presentation of words.

Like the grammar of the FL learner, the interlanguage lexicon is a dynamic sybsystem which differs both from L1 and L2. What word association studies show is that words are not stored in a totally arbitrary fashion; there are relations of hyponymy, synonymy, antonymy, and so forth, which bind words to each other in the mind. If the L2 learner's lexical competence is shaky, it also means that such associations are missing or that they are very loose.

Final comments

Lexical semantics and contrastive lexical semantics can serve in interlanguage analysis as a background discipline to describe and to some extent explain errors. The main types of semantic errors in vocabulary have been known for a long time, but their description is obviously dependent on semantic theory. The distribution of errors would vary according to communicative task or test type. In this area we definitely need feedback from interlanguage analysis to improve FLT.

There are many ways of gathering data for interlanguage analysis. In this connection I shall only say a word or two about compositions. Compositions are not very rewarding for the gathering of data on vocabulary learning, particularly not the type of composition used in the Finnish school-leaving examination since it is so short (about 200 words). In the Finnish gymnasium or senior secondary school there is a glaring discrepancy between the testing of receptive and productive skills, which means that you can get away with a rather small productive vocabulary in the composition, the only test in which vocabulary production is tested at all. At the same time this means that there is nothing in the examination system that encourages learners to devote themselves to more conscious vocabulary learning for production. In an error analysis based on nearly 500 compositions I came across essays which had been accepted and which contained only 50 different lexical items (content words; Wikberg 1979). The snag is of course that there will always be learners whose vocabulary is rather limited. Poor lexical competence in L1 is bound to affect L2 production as well.

Linguistics cannot be expected to tell us how to teach languages. But if we want to pay more attention to vocabulary, which is in harmony with communicative language teaching, lexical semantics and contrastive lexical semantics can help to sort out the mess that vocabulary appears to be at first sight. Generally there is a need for more conscious attention to vocabulary learning and teaching.[1]

Bibliography

Attila, M., A. Chesterman, and L. Oksanen 1979. *Keywords. Englannin kielen ongelmasanoja*. Porvoo: Werner Söderström.

Chesterman, A. et al. 1979. *Finnish into English. An Inroduction to Translation*. Vaasa: Gaudeamus.

Clark, H.H. 1970. Word Associations and Linguistic Theory, in J. Lyons (ed.), *New Horizons in Linguistics*, Aylesbury: Penguin, 271-286.

Clark, H.H., and E.V. Clark 1977. *Psychology and Language: An Introduction to Psycholinguistics*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Cornu, A.-M. 1978. The First Step in Vocabulary Learning. Paper presented at the 5th International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Montreal, Aug. 20-26.

van Ek, J.A. 1977. *The Threshold Level for Modern Language Learning in Schools*. London: Longman.

Engh, B. 1971. En toleransundersökning: tyska elever tolkar svenska elevers språkfel, *Pedagogisk-psykologiska problem* 137, Lärarhögskolan, Malmö.

Fillmore. C.J. 1978. On the Organization of Semantic Information in the Lexicon, *Papers from the Parasession on the Lexicon*, Chicago, Ill.: Chicago Linguistic Society, 148-173.

Heuer, H. 1973. Wortassoziationen in der Fremdsprachendidaktik, in W. Hüllen (ed.), *Neusser Vorträge zur Fremdsprachendidaktik*, Berlin: Cornelsen-Velhagen & Klasing, 66-83.

Johansson, S. 1978. *Studies of Error Gravity. Native Reactions to Errors Produced by Swedish Learners of English*. Gothenburg Studies in English 44. Göteborg.

Katz, J.J. 1972. *Semantic Theory*. New York: Harper & Row.

Kielhöfer, B. 1978. Semantisierungsverfahren in der Fremdsprache, *Linguistik und Didaktik* 36, 379-390.

---

[1] For Finnish learners of English some useful materials have recently been published. See Attila et al. (1979), and Chesterman et al. (1979).

Leech, G. 1974. Semantics. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Levenston, E.A. 1979. Questions about Second Language Lexical Acquisition. Paper presented at the First Nordic Symposium on Interlanguage, Helsinki, Aug. 27-31.

The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. 1978. Bath: Longman (LDCE).

Lyons, J. 1968. Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. London & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lyons, J. 1977. Semantics 1. London, New York & Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Marton, V. 1977. Foreign Vocabulary Learning as Problem No. 1 of Language Teaching at the Advanced Level, ISB 2, 33-57.

Meara, P. 1978. Learner's Word Associations in French, ISB 3, 192-211.

Oppilaalle vieraat kielet. Ehdotus perustavoitteiksi ja perusoppiaineksiksi peruskoulussa. 1976. Helsinki: Kouluhallitus. (VIKKE).

Palmberg, R. 1978. Engelska som målspråk - finska och finlandssvenska kommunikationsstrategier, in M. Linnarud and J. Svartvik (eds.), Kommunikativ kompetens och fackspråk, Föredrag hållna vid ett symposium om Språket i bruk, Södertälje, 6-8.10.1978. ASLA.

Palmer, H.E. 1968 (1917). The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages. London: Oxford University Press.

Todd, L. 1974. Pidgins and Creoles. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Wikberg, K. 1979. Lexical Errors Made in English by Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Senior Secondary School Students: A Comparison. Report presented at the First Nordic Symposium on Interlanguage, Helsinki, Aug. 27-31.

Wilkins, D. 1972. Linguistics in Language Teaching. Guildford & London: Edward Arnold.

DE LÅNGSIKTIGA EFFEKTERNA PÅ ALLMÄNNA FÄRDIGHETER OCH ATTITYDER I SKOLAN AV TIDIGT PÅBÖRJAD UNDERVISNING I ENGELSKA

LARS HOLMSTRAND
Uppsala universitet

En tydlig tendens när det gäller skolornas undervisning i främmande språk på många håll världen över har under de senaste två decennierna varit att man påbörjat undervisningen i allt tidigare årskurser. De förändringar i fråga om timplaner mm som skett har inte kunnat genomföras utan debatt och ibland har även undersökningar gjorts av effekterna av tidigt påbörjad undervisning i främmande språk. Det största intresset har därvid givetvis knutits till förväntade positiva inlärningseffekter i det främmande språket. Det har emellertid också ansetts mycket viktigt att kontrollera att ingen negativ inverkan på andra ämnen i skolan skett. Eftersom man normalt sett måste ta undervisningstid för det främmande språket från något annat skolämne kan denna typ av inverkan inte uteslutas. Vidare brukar relationen mellan det nya språket och modersmålet anses som särskilt känslig och denna fråga har därför debatterats livligt och tämligen ofta också givit upphov till empiriska undersökningar.

I det svenska forskningsprojektet EPAL (Engelska PA Lågstadiet) undersöks effekterna av en tidigt påbörjad undervisning i engelska. En viktig del av undersökningarna ägnas åt att studera såväl långsiktiga som kortsiktiga effekter på allmänna färdigheter och attityder i skolan av den tidigt insatta undervisningen i engelska. I fortsättningen skall resultaten av dessa undersökningar i korthet presenteras.[1] Tyngdpunkten kommer att ligga på vilka effekterna blir i svenska. Först måste något om projektet och dess bakgrund nämnas.

Projektet Engelska PA Lågstadiet

EPAL-projektet, som finansierats med medel från skolöverstyrelsen, är ett longitudinellt forskningsprojekt som pågått i ungefär 10 år. Försöksverksamheten med den tidigt påbörjade undervisningen i engelska har varit förlagd till Västerås, där en årskull elever följts genom hela grundskolan.

---

[1] För en utförligare redovisning hänvisas till Holmstrand 1978, 1979a och 1979b.

Projektets tillkomst kan ses som en följd av reformeringen av den obligatoriska skolan, varigenom ämnet engelska fått en allt större betydelse och samtidigt också i etapper introducerats i allt tidigare årskurser. Det ansågs alltså lämpligt att bereda vägen för en eventuell fortsatt nedflyttning av ämnet engelska till ännu tidigare årskurser genom en försöksverksamhet som först utvärderades. Den internationella debatten där bl a flera argument för en tidigt påbörjad undervisning i främmande språk framfördes spelade också en roll som inspirationskälla för projektet, liksom den s k FLES-rörelsens[2] spridning i USA och Primary French Project i England.

EPAL-projektets undersökningar gäller i första hand den årskull elever i Västerås som började skolan höstterminen 1970. Sammanlagt ingick c:a 1800 elever vid skolstarten fördelade på 85 klassavdelningar. I den s k experimentgruppen som fått undervisning i engelska fr o m vårterminen i årskurs 1 var antalet elever vid skolstarten c:a 500, fördelade på 24 klasser. Övriga elever i årskullen ingår i endera av två kontrollgrupper. Den ena av dessa (med beteckningen K3) utgör en direkt jämförelsegrupp till experimentgruppen beträffande effekterna i engelska och eleverna där har fått undervisning i engelska enligt Lgr 69 fr o m årskurs 3.[3]

Den andra kontrollgruppen (K2) som består av resterande klassavdelningar i årskullen har också fått undervisning i engelska enligt Lgr 69. Den utnyttjas tillsammans med den förstnämnda kontrollgruppen för jämförelserna rörande effekterna på allmänna färdigheter och attityder i skolan. Timplanerna i svenska och engelska för experimentgruppen och de båda kontrollgrupperna framgår av tabell 1. Som synes har både experimentgruppen och de båda kontrollgrupperna totalt 12 veckotimmars undervisning i engelska fördelade över årskurserna på låg- och mellanstadiet. Skillnaden är den att experimentgruppen fått undervisning i engelska sammanlagt 2 veckotimmar under årskurs 1 och 2 och motsvarande tid mindre i årskurs 5 och 6, medan förhållandet är omvänt för kontrollgrupperna som påbörjade undervisningen i engelska i årskurs 3. För att bereda utrymme för undervisningen i engelska i experimentgruppen under årskurs 1 och 2 har ett byte skett mot ämnet svenska. Experimentgruppen har således 2 veckotimmar mindre undervisning i svenska under lågstadiet och vardera en veckotimme mer undervisning i svenska i årskurserna 5 och 6.

[2] FLES = Foreign Languages in the Elementary School.

[3] För att göra betingelserna så lika som möjligt utom i fråga om skillnaderna i timplaner har eleverna här fått undervisning med exakt samma läromedel som i experimentgruppen, mätningarna har genomförts efter lika lång tids undervisning i engelska etc.

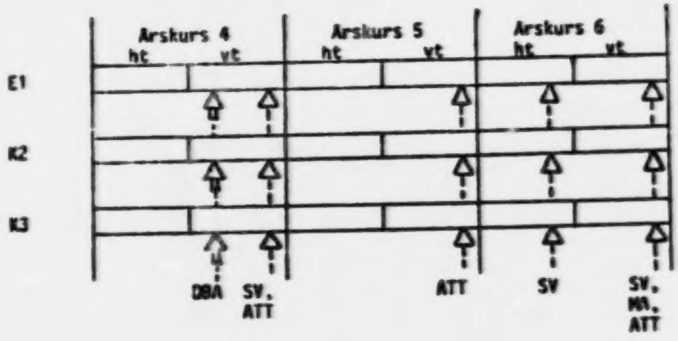
Tabell 1. Timplaner i engelska och svenska för E-grupp och K-grupper under låg- och mellanstadiet. Antal veckotimmar.

	Engelska		Svenska	
	E-grupp	K-grupper	E-grupp	K-grupper
Årskurs 1	0.5	-	8.5	9
" 2	1.5	-	9.5	11
" 3	2	2	9	9
S:a lågstadiet	4	2	27	29
Årskurs 4	2	2	9	9
" 5	3	4	9	8
" 6	3	4	10	9
S:a mellanstadiet	8	10	28	26
Totalt	12	12	55	55

Beskrivning av undersökningen

Syftet med den här beskrivna undersökningen var att kartlägga de långsiktiga effekterna på allmänna färdigheter och attityder i skolan av tidigt påbörjad undervisning i engelska. Med lånsiktiga effekter avses här effekterna under mellanstadiet (årskurserna 4-6). Även effekterna under årskurserna 1-3 kommer emellertid att beröras nedan. Med allmänna färdigheter avses här i första hand färdigheterna i ämnet svenska, som det av flera skäl fanns anledning att särskilt uppmärksamma, samt i viss mån också färdigheterna i ämnet matematik. I syftet med undersökningen ingick också att kartlägga elevernas attityder till ämnena svenska och matematik samt till skolgången i allmänhet.

Enligt en preliminär plan avsågs mätningar i svenska och matematik samt i fråga om elevernas attityder att äga rum i slutet av varje årskurs. Så skedde också under lågstadiet, då även resultaten från det i detta sammanhang viktiga skolmognadsprovet också insamlades. Elevernas resultat på skolmognadsprovet användes sedan för att på statistisk väg jämställa undersökningsgrupperna i fråga om studieförutsättningar. När det gäller mellanstadiet fick undersökningen den uppläggning som framgår av figur 1. Elevernas resultat



DBA = Differentiell begåvningsanalys - ett begåvningsprov

SV = Prov (eller betyg) is svenska

MA = Prov (eller betyg) i matematik

ATT = Attitydprov

Figur 1. Uppläggningen av faktiskt genomförda kontrollmätningar under mellanstadiet.

på DBA-provet användes här på motsvarande sätt som resultaten på skolmognadsprovet under lågstadiet.

Som mätinstrument vid de olika mättillfällena användes i första hand i undervisningen reguljärt förekommande prov eller dylikt, d v s i det här fallet standardproven i svenska och matematik i årskurs 3 och 6 samt betygen i årskurs 6 i svenska och matematik. I andra hand utnyttjades prov konstruerade i andra pedagogiska forskningssammanhang eller kommersiellt tillgängliga prov. I några fall måste dessutom mätinstrument konstrueras inom projektet, t ex attitydprovet.

I tabell 2 har de olika mätinstrument som utnyttjats under mellanstadiet förtecknats.

Med några få undantag genomfördes de olika proven under ledning av läraren i respektive klassavdelning. Provformulären eller motsvarande insamlades och rättades i förekommande fall samt kodades innan provresultaten för varje elev instansades på hålkort. Utöver provresultat insamlades också viss bakgrundsinformation om varje elev och uppgifter om kön, invandrarstatus och socialgruppstillhörighet instansades också.

Tabell 2. Mätinstrument i svenska och matematik under mellanstadiet.

Ämne/Årskurs	Prov
Svenska årskurs 4	Läsförståelseprov ("Dödsuret")
	Rättstavningsprov ("RS 2")
Svenska årskurs 6	Lucktest (läsförståelseprov, "LT")
	Standardproven i svenska:
	"Rättstavning"
	"Läsförståelse"
	"Relationsord"
	"Ordkunskap"
	"Ordlista"
	"Meningsbyggnad"
	Totalresultat på standardprovet
	Betyg i svenska
Matematik årskurs 6	Standardprov i matematik:
	"Numerisk räkning", A
	"Procent", B
	"Överslagsräkning", C
	"Geometri och diagram", D
	"Tillämpad räkning", E
	Totalresultat på standardprovet
	Betyg i matematik

Det material som ligger till grund för databearbetningarna är baserat endast på uppgifter från de elever som hela tiden under undersökningsperioden i fråga (d v s under årskurs 1-3 eller under årskurs 1-6) tillhört samma undersökningsgrupp. Antalet sådana s k kärngruppselevor i årskurs 6 uppgår till c:a 1050, varav närmare 300 i experimentgruppen.

Huvuddelen av de statistiska bearbetningar som gjorts består av kovariansanalyser där antingen resultaten på skolmognadsprovet i årskurs 1 eller resultaten på DBA i årskurs 4 använts som kovariat (d v s undersökningsgrupperna har på statistisk väg jämställts i fråga om studieförutsättningar). Undersökningsmaterialet har efter mer översiktliga bearbetningar, där experimentgruppens resultat ställts emot antingen de båda kontrollgruppernas resultat sammanslagna eller de båda kontrollgruppernas resultat var för sig, uppdelats på undergrupper baserade på bakgrundsvariablerna kön, socialgruppstillhörighet och invandrarstatus. Totalt har 23 sådana undergrupper förekommit vid bearbetningarna. Genom att resultaten på alla prov (och i vissa fall även delprov) analyserats för både totalgrupperna och dessa 23 bearbetningsgrupper har sammanlagt flera hundra kovariansanalyser genomförts.

Resultat

Resultaten i matematik låter sig både för låg- och mellanstadiet föga överraskande sammanfattas med att inga varken positiva eller negativa effekter för experimentgruppens del har kunnat påvisas. Det är endast i en liten andel av alla analyser som några statistiskt signifikanta skillnader mellan undersökninsgrupperna över huvud taget har kunnat konstateras. Skillnadernas riktning här varierar emellertid och det finns ingen som helst tendens vare sig fördelar eller nackdelar för experimentgruppen.

När det gäller effekterna i svenska är resultatsbilden en annan. Trots att experimentgruppen haft 2 veckotimmar mindre undervisning i svenska är skillnaderna i totalresultatet på standardprovet i svenska i årskurs 3 statistiskt signifikanta till förmån för experimentgruppen både när det gäller undersökningsgrupperna i sin helhet och för flera större undergrupper av materialet. Även på proven i årskurs 4 i svenska har statistiskt signifikanta skillnader till förmån för experimentgruppen kunnat konstateras. Likaså i årskurs 6 i fråga om ett läsförståelseprov i början av årskursen och två av delproven ingående i standardproven i svenska har statistiskt signifikanta skillnader till fördel för experimentgruppen kunnat noteras för såväl totalgrupperna som för flera större undergrupper av materialet. När det gäller totalresultatet på standardproven i svenska i årskurs 6 har däremot inga skillnader noterats vid analyserna där El jämförts med de två kontrollgrupperna var och för sig. Det kan dock nämnas att när de båda kontrollgrupperna slagits samman och behandlats som en enda grupp har även där statistiskt signifikanta skillnader till fördel för experimentgruppen kunnat påvisas just i fråga om totalresultatet på standardproven i svenska. Även i fråga om betygen i svenska i årskurs 6 har kovariansanalyserna resulterat i att statistiskt signifikanta skillnader till experimentgruppens förmån konstaterats både för totalgrupperna och för undergrupper.

Det måste framhållas att de statistiskt signifikanta skillnader som ovan nämnts inte skall tolkas så att några markanta skillnader i prestationer föreligger mellan experimentgruppen och kontrollgrupperna. Det är således knappast rimligt att beteckna skillnaderna som "pedagogiskt signifikanta". Här finns i stället en tydlig tendens. Det kan alltså konstateras att experimentsgruppen på intet vis har sämre provresultat i svenska än kontrollgrupperna. Resultaten av analyserna indikerar tvärtom att den experimentella behandlingen kan ha haft en viss stimulerande effekt på prestationerna i ämnet svenska.

Resultaten av undersökningarna av elevernas attityder till svenska och matematik samt till skolgången i allmänhet tyder på att eleverna i experimentgruppen kan ha haft en något mer positiv inställning till ämnet svenska samt under mellanstadiet även en något mer positiv inställning till skolgången. Det finns kort sagt ingenting som tyder på att eleverna skulle ha upplevt den experimentella behandlingen som särskilt betungande i något avseende.

Diskussion och sammanfattning

Det är framför allt resultaten i svenska som förtjänar att kommenteras något.

Frågan om vilket inflytande en tidigt insatt undervisning i ett främmande språk har på det första språket är mycket omdebatterad. En del har befarat negativa konsekvenser (t ex Malmberg 1971), andra har markerat en skeptisk inställning till resonemangen om skadliga effekter (t ex Ruke-Dravina 1969; Ekstrand 1978) och återingen andra har menat att en stimulerade inverkan på modersmålet skulle kunna tänkas (t ex Sauer 1972; Hancock 1977; Masciantonio 1977 och Eddy 1978). Här finns emellertid få hållfasta teoretiska utgångspunkter.

Empirin på området kännetecknas i motsats till debatten av en hög grad av samstämmighet. En rad amerikanska s k FLES-undersökningar där man kontrollerat eventuella effekter på modersmålet (t ex Johnson, Ellison & Flores 1963; Potts 1967; Smith 1967) och motsvarande europeiska undersökningar (Burstall, Jamieson, Cohen & Hargreaves 1974; Hilgendorf, Holzkamp & Münzberg 1970; Doyé & Lüttge 1977) har inte kunnat påvisa några negativa effekter på modersmålet av en tidigt påbörjad undervisning i främmande språk.

Det är i detta sammanhang intressant att notera vad Carroll redan 1960 i en forskningsöversikt anförde. Han hävdade där att farhågorna om interferenseffekter på tillägnandet av modersmålet som en följd av undervisning i ett främmande språk förmodligen helt saknade grund och hänvisande till att det t o m i psykologisk inlärningsforskning är svårt att åstadkomma interferenseffekter "except under special experimental conditions unlikely to occur in actual school situations" (Carroll 1960:14).

Det förefaller också mycket väsentligt att särhålla den typ av tvåspråkighetssituation som man kan hävda att inlärningen av ett främmande språk i skolan på sätt och vis är från andra typer av tvåspråkighetssituationer. Inlärningen av ett främmande språk i skolan är således en situation som inte utan vidare kan jämföras med t ex invandrares språkproblem och hemspråksundervisning i skolan. Flera forskare har på senare tid gjort mycket klara distinktioner mellan olika typer av tvåspråkighet, och bl a särhållit undervisning i ett främmande språk i skolan från andra tvåspråkighetssituationer (Toukomaa & Skutnabb-Kangas 1977; Skutnabb-Kangas 1978; Ekstrand 1978).

Litet tillspetsat skulle man kunna säga att när det gäller undervisning i främmande språk i skolan så är det inte så mycket frågan om ett språk som ett skolämne bland alla andra på schemat. Den språkliga stimulans som att döma av resultaten av EPAL-projektets undersökning tycks kunna förekomma är förmodligen av en rätt allmän karaktär. Genom undervisningen i det främmande språket tillhandahålls således ett jämförelseunderlag, vilket kan ge eleven möjlighet till en värdefull vidgning av perspektiver och en högre grad av medvetenhet om språkliga fenomen eller som Vygotsky (1962) säger det:

> A foreign language facilitates mastering the higher forms of the native language. The child learns to see his language as one particular system among many, to view its phenomena under more general categories, and this leads to awareness of linguistic operations. Goethe said with truth that 'He who knows no foreign language does not truely know his own'. (Vygotsky 1962:110.)

Referenser

Burstall, C., M. Jamieson, S. Cohen, & M. Hargreaves 1974. *Primary French in the Balance*. Slough: NFER.

Carroll, J.B. 1960. Foreign language for children: What research says, *National Elementary Principal* 39 (6), 12 - 15.

Doyé, P., & D. Lüttge 1977. *Untersuchungen zum Englischunterricht in der Grundschule*. Braunschweig: Westermann.

Eddy, P. 1978. *The Effect of Foreign Language Study on Verbal Ability in the Native Language: A Review of Evidence*. A paper presented at Fifth International Conference of Applied Linguistics, Montreal, Canada.

Ekstrand, L.H. 1978. *Bilingualism and Bicultural Adaption*. Institute of International Education, University of Stockholm.

Hancock, C.R. 1977. Second Language Study and Intellectual Development, *Foreign Language Annals* 10, 75 - 79.

Hilgendorf, E., C. Holzkamp, & I. Münzberg 1970. *Frühbeginn des Englischunterrichts. Probleme und Ergebnisse einer Effektivitätsuntersuchung*. Weinheim: Belz.

Holmstrand, L. 1978. *Effekterna på allmänna färdigheter och attityder i skolan av tidigt påbörjad undervisning i engelska. En delstudie inom EPAL-projektet*. Pedagogisk Forskning Uppsala 2, 1978.

Holmstrand, L. 1979a. De långsiktiga effekterna på allmänna färdigheter och attityder i skolan av tidigt påbörjad undervisning i engelska. En delstudie inom EPAL-projektet.

Holmstrand, L. 1979b. *The effects on general school achievement of early commencement of English instruction*. Uppsala Reports on Education 4, 1979.

Johnson, C.E., F.P. Ellison, & J.S. Flores 1963. The effect of foreign language instruction on basic learning in elementary schools, *Modern Language Journal* 47, 8 - 11.

Malmberg, B. 1971. *Språkinlärning. En orientering och ett debattinlägg*. Stockholm: Aldus.

Masciantonio, R. 1977. Tangible Benefits of the Study of Latin: A Review of Research, *Foreign Language Annals* 10, 375-382.

Potts, M. 1967. The effects of second-language instruction on the reading proficiency and general school achievement of primary grade children, *American Educational Research Journal* 1, 367-373.

Ruke-Dravina, V. 1969. *Språk i kontakt*. Lund: Aldus.

Sauer, H. 1972. Der Beginn des Fremdsprachenunterrichts in der Grundschule, *Neuesprachliche Mitteilungen* 3, 129-137.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 1978. *Språkbad, språkdränkning och språkskydd - hur ser det ut i klassrummet*. Paper presenterat vid 4. nordiska lingvistmötet, Hindsgavl 6-8.1.1978.

Smith, W.H. 1967. Linguistic and academic achievement of elementary students studying a foreign language, *Dissertation Abstracts* 27, 3883-A.

Toukomaa, P., & T. Skutnabb-Kangas 1977. *The intensive teaching of the mother tongue to migrant children at pre-school age*. Research Reports, Department of Sociology and Social Psychology, University of Tampere, Finland 26.

Vygotsky, L.S. 1962. *Thought and Language*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.

RETURN TO THE NATIVE LANGUAGE VIA "TREX"

STINA BORGSTAM
University of Uppsala

> "There are some things about your
> own village that you never know
> until you have been away from it."
> C.S. Lewis

TREX is short for 'translating into the mother tongue as an exercise in written language'.[1]

TREX is thus not primarily intended for testing the comprehension of the source language (SL), but seen as an opportunity for the students to actively explore their mother tongue, in this case the target language (TL).

The most essential part of TREX is the translation as activity, each student writing his own version.

After this individual training, a common session is a natural sequel. The various individual translations, as products, will necessarily differ in several respects, lexical, syntactic, as well as stylistic, and will accordingly afford a rich material for linguistic discussions and observations. If the teacher's comments are exclusive ad hoc, the possibilities of TREX are not realized, but a careful planning of the follow-up could certainly warrant a useful connection and integration with other lessons in the mother tongue.

Furthermore, the material produced by the students themselves is not perceived by them as something unfamiliar and irrelevant, which may be the case when the teacher presents an authentic or contrived text of his own choice to be analysed linguistically.

On the other hand, a translated text is not too personal. Critical comments on a composition or on some other text of the student's own invention may be embarrassing and humiliating, even if the student realizes that he is learning a great deal from a reasoned criticism. It is no secret how difficult it is to persuade a class to write anyhow, and quite a few teachers refrain from correcting and discussing the language of the reluctant writers, convinced that any criticism would deter the weak achievers from further writing.

---

[1] This paper is only concerned with written translation, not with oral interpretation.

TREX, however, facilitates an objectifying of the text: you can regard a text of your own production without excessive personal involvement. A translation that turns out badly will not be seen as a personal failure to the same extent as an unsuccessful composition.

In many respects, translating approaches the concept of a purely linguistic activity.

Once the SL-text is understood, the student will not loose time in desperately asking himself what on earth he is going to write. The content is already given in the original text, which is a firm starting-point with a set of instructions, as it were. How to write, not what to write, is the central preoccupation of the translator.

It should be emphasized that the occasional or professional translator's work is creative. He has to produce a new text in the TL. It is not an imitative procedure, a more or less skilful copying, as a popular misconception will have it.

C.G. Bjurström, a renowned professional translator, has pointed out this fact in a paper about 'The Translator's Work' (Sw. 'Översättarens arbete'): what is to be reproduced is not the SL-text - an impossible feat - but the original author's course of action, his type of workmanship, his toil at language; and the work to be done by the translator is done within the TL - not somewhere between the languages (Bjurström 1978).

To use my metaphor, the translator returns to the TL with a set of SL directives, and it is only now that his proper work is taking place. If the TL is his mother tongue, he will become aware of it in quite a new manner, the all-too-familiar and taken-for-granted is seen in a new light.

Hence it is evident that he must feel at home in the TL for the translation to be accomplished and for an exercise like TREX to be meaningful. A fair mastery of the TL is crucial. Ideally, it is the translator's mother tongue.[2]

An equal competence in the SL is not necessary. Rather, other components of the linguistic competence are required: a reader's conscientious decoding and reflective interpretation.[3]

Undoubtedly, the capability of idiomatic writing in the SL deepens the critical reader's appreciation of the SL-text. He knows more about the reasons why a SL-author has preferred a certain expression, for instance, but that will not necessarily make him a better translator. Understanding what is written is of course the important question. Above all, you must know the SL well enough to realize when you have not understood, as Gunnel Vallquist (1978) has observed.

---

[2] Here, practicing translators and translation theorists agree. F. Güttinger, e.g., has a paragraph, entitled "Vorrang der Muttersprache" (Güttinger 1963).

[3] About the reader's competence, see Borgstam 1978.

The corollary is clear: to ask a student to translate into a foreign, largely unknown language is an unreasonable demand, which can only make the beginner frustrated or over-confident. He has no intuitive criteria of adequacy, and a good translation may be a chance performance or an imitation of already existing versions. It is no wonder that translation in the classroom is regarded with suspicion by foreign language teachers.[4]

More surprising is the fact that TREX has been completely disregarded by the mother tongue teachers. At most, learning from translating has been noticed as a negligible spin-off from lessons in other languages and in any case regarded as the concern of the SL-teachers.[5]

As was stated above, the TREX-student can concentrate on the expression, since the content is determined by the SL-text, a fact that has obvious psychologic and pedagogic advantages.

There are linguistic advantages as well. The constraints of the SL-text make themselves constantly reminded, confronting the student with obstacles within the TL which he has to tackle. He has to make, his own way, and in doing so he will discover resources in his own language that he would otherwise not have thought of as being available for his own use.

We all use certain 'communicative strategies' in talking and writing: avoidance, approximation, and so on.[6] TREX, however, implies a challenge to try new tactics and strategies. The translator may have to decide for previously halfunderstood words, and in order to use them he has to reflect on denotation and connotation, possible collocations, and possible contexts, and so on.[7] His active vocabulary is enlarged as well as enriched. Nor can he avoid syntactic constructions otherwise felt to be difficult or too complicated.

---

[4] About the use and misuse of translation in foreign language teaching, see Palmer 1968.

[5] There may have been exceptions in the former Swedish school system, abolished 1968. A Latin teacher could be a Swedish teacher as well. Translations into Swedish from Latin were considered the most important exam papers next to Swedish composition. The translation was of course used as a comprehension control, and considered as pertaining to the subject of Latin. It was required, however, that a translation should not only be correct, but written in 'good' idiomatic Swedish. Otherwise, the highest mark (for Latin!) was not given.

[6] About communicative strategies, see Palmberg 1978.

The traditional mother tongue lessons are generally more suited for testing previously acquired knowledge and habitual stratagems than for teaching something new, at least as far as writing is concerned. Writing a composition, for instance, and encouraged by the teacher to express himself 'in his own words', the student will certainly do so, even if his customary vocabulary is far from adequate. Writing a summary of a book or an article, the student is tempted to imitate the phraseology of the author, a communicative strategy that might be described as linguistic hitch-hiking.

The transition from largely unreflective speech to consciously planned writing is not easy. In speech, fluency is more important than adequacy, at least in face-to-face interaction, while various functions of the written language demand the very opposite attitude.[8]

In order to teach how to read and write, the notion of defining a text as 'speech written down' may serve as the pedagogic trick. But this notion has to be discarded once the alphabetical skills are acquired. Otherwise the student will transfer his speech strategies to writing.

In translating, you turn from reading one text to producing another text, and the oral language habits are less likely to interfere.

The translator cannot use language automatically, cannot see it as a mere *instrument*. It is true that some passages are routine matters, but sooner or later the unpredictability of language use and its countless expedients force him to focus on the TL as *material* with certain inherent qualities, something that can be shaped and reshaped, within certain boundaries; not material that can be treated anyhow to yield anything but inexhaustible material which can be managed and mastered.

For the TREX-student the rules of grammar are disclosed in his own work. That his native language *has* a grammar may surprise him, and so does, of course, the mysterious fact that he knows how to handle this grammar. He becomes aware of his own linguistic competence.[9]

---

[7] I do not mean that the students have to learn these very terms. The current mothertongue textbooks abound with linguistic terms which the students are learning without really knowing the phenomena referred to by these terms. By TREX they would learn from experience, with or without a linguistic nomenclature.

[8] A detailed discussion of these important questions is found in Crystal 1976.

The necessity of stylistic studies is also discovered. For a translator stylistics cannot remain a supposed inventory of superficial niceties and frills.

In short, I think that TREX will help the students to see the point of metalinguistic considerations. All language teachers have to fight the false dichotomy between form and content and the wide-spread tendency to regard form as unimportant. The students are sure to be persuaded by their own experience more than by the teacher's rhetoric.

The experience with TREX is convincing. For those who have struggled with translating, the concluding remarks in Epstein's Language and Style do not seem a paradox but a true description of linguistic facts: "In the long run, the what is created by the how ... and if the how falters, the what disintegrates" (Epstein 1978).

It may be added that the efficient how of a specific what depends on the what for, the function and the purpose of the text. This intricate interdependence between content, form, and function is open for the translator's inspection to quite an exceptional degree. The experience of returning to the native language is unique. TREX can thus integrate the different activities within the teaching of the mother tongue, grammatical analysis and writing, for instance. It can also be a means to integrate the teaching of the TL and the SL. A close co-operation between the respective teachers is in any case necessary, especially for the selection of SL-texts to be used.

These ought to be

(1) representative for the SL and its culture;
(2) authentic, written for the native readers of the SL;
(3) coherent and complete, not fragmentary; and
(4) without illustrations.

In short, the text should be a text, nothing more and nothing less.

On the other hand, TREX need not be an overly ambitious enterprise. A proverb, for instance, is a kind of minimal text that answers the requirements (1) to (4).[10]

It is important that the TREX proper should be made individually, in a silent and unhurried atmosphere.[11] Each student needs his own undisturbed training, setting his own pace, making his own linguistic experiments and experience. Consultations among the students - perhaps on the pretext 'team-work' - are thus not recommendable. The common discussion has to be deferred to the follow-up.

---

[9] Cf. Lewis 1976:311-312.

[10] Generally known, already translated proverbs, or proverbs with traditional equivalent sayings in the TL should of course be avoided.

[11] What I have in mind is the silent concentration during the Latin examinations, referred to in footnote 5, but without the stress of a test-situation.

Meagre word-lists are definitely out of place. Instead, comprehensive dictionaries should be available, especially monolingual TL-dictionaries giving synonyms and definitions.

The teacher-guided follow-up can of course be organized in many different ways. A tripartite lesson - or a set of three lessons - seems, however, to suggest itself:

(1) comments on the SL-text from the SL point of view, including corrections of obvious errors due to misinterpretation of the SL-text;

(2) comments on the produced TL-texts from the TL point of view, as outlined and emphasized in this paper;

(3) a comparison between the SL-text and the translations, in other words applied contrastive linguistics. An authentic SL-text and the translations made by the students themselves constitute, I think, a particularly good basis for contrastive discourse analysis and for a communicative approach to language and language teaching.[12]

The distinctive possibilities of TREX make this training and teaching device especially useful for the following categories of students:

(1) immigrant children (and adults); their home language is chosen as TL, and the language of the new country as SL, in order to further a productive writing in the mother tongue and a better understanding of the new language;

(2) students living in a bilingual community, such as Finland;

(3) students at teacher training colleges, particularly future mother tongue teachers;

(4) future university students, that is, students in upper secondary schools, and many other categories of persons who are formally admitted to academic education.

It is a growing concern of Swedish university teachers that too many students are slow and inefficacious readers of English textbooks. Evidently, they have had too little training in close and reflective reading. Swedish textbooks present linguistic difficulties for the same reason.

A greater problem than reading Swedish is, however, the writing of academic papers in Swedish. The present state of the art of writing clear, coherent, and efficient Swedish prose is far from satisfactory, as recent reports have shown.[13]

---

[12] For a discussion of applied contrastive linguistics and the communicative approach, which is too often missing in the schools, see Sajavaara 1977.

This is a serious matter. To be able to understand English textbooks and to know how to write understandable Swedish are quite obviously two essential requirements for higher education.

In this connection, TREX could be a particularly valuable help. Taking English as the SL and Swedish as the TL, the most urgently needed training is afforded: reading English and writing Swedish is combined in a natural way.[14]

---

[13] See Nordberg 1979, who emphasizes the lack of training.

[14] It is only fair to underline that TREX takes time, as any kind of training. A short supplementary course would not do the tricks of TREX!

References

Bjurström, C.G. 1978. Översättarens arbete, *Svensk Litteraturtidskrift* 41, 13-17.

Borgstam, S. 1978. Decoding and Interpretation, in M. Linnarud and J. Svartvik (eds.), *Kommunikativ kompetens och facksprák*, Lund: ASLA, 53-68.

Crystal, D. 1976. *Child language, learning and linguistics*. London: Edward Arnold.

Epstein, E.L. 1978. *Language and Style*. London: Methuen & Co.

Güttinger, F. 1963. *Zielsprache, Theorie und Technik des Ubersetzens*. Zürich: Manesse Verlag.

Lewis, C.G. 1976. *Studies in Words*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nordberg, B. 1979. *Högskoleutbildning och modersmålsträning*. Uppsala: UHÄ-rapport 1979:20.

Palmer, H.E. 1968. *The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages*. Ed. D. Harper. London: Oxford University Press.

Palmberg, R. 1978. Engelska som målspråk - finska och finlands-svenska kommunikationsstrategier, in M. Linnarud and J. Svartvik (eds.), *Kommunikativ kompetens och facksprák*, Lund: ASLA, 137-149.

Sajavaara, K. 1977. Contrastive Linguistics Past and Present and a Communicative Approach, *Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies* 4, Jyväskylä: Department of English, University of Jyväskylä, 9-30.

Vallquist, G. 1978. Svenska språkfattigdomens betydelse i mitt liv med Proust, *Svensk Litteraturtidskrift* 41, 30-34.

SURVEY OF FOREIGNERS' PRONUNCIATION PROBLEMS IN SWEDISH[1]

ROBERT BANNERT
Lund University

Background

One of the characteristic difficulties of teaching Swedish to foreigners is that it involves dealing with linguistically heterogeneous groups. This fact presents special problems for language instruction and also, of course, for the acquisition of adequate pronunciation. The sound structures of the different languages are often very different from that of Swedish, and they often differ considerably among themselves. Working in a group with several different primary languages places extreme demands on the teacher. One basic requirement for succes in this task is that the teacher has knowledge of the pronunciation problems that foreigners can have.

The purpose of this report is to present the Swedish pronunciation problems that we have observed in the foreign accent archives.[2] We have taken up pronunciation problems that a pupil can have, but obviously he or she need not have all of them. The acquisition of pronunciation depends on so many different factors - not the least of which are extra-linguistic - that we usually find a large variation with respect to the particular aspects of pronunciation in the target language which will cause difficulties for a given individual. On the other hand, there do seem to be some difficulties which all pupils tend to have.

The goal of the teaching of pronunciation to adult immigrants should in general be an intelligible Swedish. This means that some degree of foreign accent can be accepted. But those features of Swedish pronunciation which are salient features of intelligibility have to be learned as correctly as possible.

---

[1] Report from the project "Optimalizing the teaching of Swedish pronunciation" led by Eva Gårding and supported by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation.

[2] The foreign accent archives consist of 70 tape recordings made by immigrants who spoke Swedish with a typical accent. 25 languages are represented.

Materials

Twenty-five languages are represented in the foreign accent archives. They cover a broad spectrum of variation in phonological systems, including vowel, consonant, and prosodic differences. The recorded speech samples include two types of materials: texts which the informants have read aloud and spontaneous speech. Informants were permitted to go through the entire text material before the recording and were encouraged to use various methods to help them understand the texts.

The languages in the foreign accent archives and the distribution according to primary language of the 70 informants are shown in Table 1. The languages are divided into a group of ten main languages, which form the core of the project work, and another group of fifteen related languages. Only the problems related to the ten main languages will be reported here.

Table 1. The languages in the foreign accent archives and the distribution according to primary language of the 70 informants.

MAIN LANGUAGES		RELATED LANGUAGES	
British English	2	Icelandic	1
		German (North-German, Bavarian, Switzer-German)	3
		Dutch	1
		American English	3
Spanish	7	French	3
		Portuguese	3
Polish	6	Serbocroatian	3
		Czech/Slovak	2
		Russian	2
Finnish	4	Hungarian	3
Greek	5		
		Turkish	2
		Arabic	2
		Swahili	1
Persian	5		
Punjabi	2	Hindi	2
		Tamil	1
Japanese	3		
Chinese	2		
Thai	2		

Analysis

The analysis of the samples of foreign accents in Swedish has proceeded according to what we have called optimizing principles, which we found useful in reducing the time and work involved in working with such a rich material. There were three principles involving the use of prototypical samples, the method of systematic analysis, and the evaluation of relative importance.

The use of prototypical samples. - As informants we chose foreigners who spoke Swedish with an accent considered typical for that person's primary language. This choice was based on the assumption that a person with a prototypical accent will optimally represent the pronunciation difficulties in his or her foreign accent. In this way it should be possible to keep the number of informants for each language relatively small. Judgments of prototypical accents were made with the help of the teachers and were supplemented during the course of the project by our own observations.

The method of systematic analysis. - A primarily auditory analysis of the accent material was carried out at least twice. These auditory analyses were supplemented by a visual inspection of the speech signal with respect certain specific features[3]. In contrast to the usual procedure, where the whole material is transcribed, requiring an enormous amount of time and work, we experimented with a direct systematic analysis. For each auditory analysis, a checklist diagram was used. This is shown in Figure 1. The checklist contains first the target values or primary units of Swedish pronunciation, and therefore represents the phonology of Swedish; it consists of three parts - vowels, consonants, and prosody. The pronunciation targets are concrete and correspond to the actual sounds and prosodic characteristics which foreigners are exposed to when a Swede speaks to them. The checklist also includes possible deviations from the Swedish norms, e.g. vowel deletion or voicing assimilation of consonants. This method of analysis gives a qualitative picture of the degree of control over the pronunciation targets

---

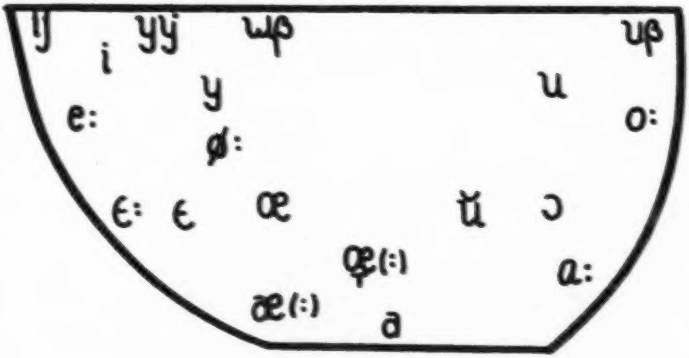
[3] Stress and phrase melody were investigated with the Voicescope. It consists mainly of a pitch meter which extracts the speech melody. The melody is represented by the pitch curve, which is displayed on a screen. The features aspiration and voicing were checked with a duplex oscillogram which was displayed on the screen of a storage oscilloscope. For further details see Bannert 1979.

CHECKLIST DIAGRAM

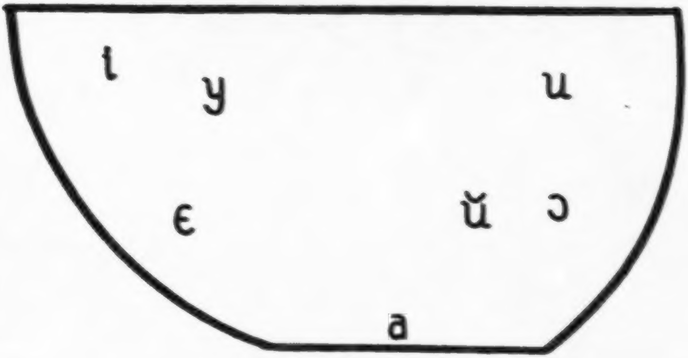
Language: **Name:** **Date:**

VOWELS

1. Vowel quality in stressed syllable


ij
yy̆
ɯβ
uβ
i
y
u
e:
o:
ø:
ɛ:
ɛ
œ
ŭ
ɔ
œ̞(:)
a:
æ(:)
a

2. Vowel quality in unstressed syllable



3. Processes

nasalizing whisper

palatalizing deletion

4. Spelling

5. Other

Figure 1. Checklist diagram for systematic analysis.

Figure 1 (continued).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CONSONANTS

1. SIMPLE

Position	STOPS						FRIKATIVES							NASALS			LIQUIDS		SUP DEN
	aspirated			unaspirated			sibilants				others								
INITIAL (before stressed vowel)	ph	th	kh	b̥	d̥	g̊	ɧ	s	ɕ	f	h	v	j	m	n	☒	l	r	
MEDIAL (following stressed vowel)	p	t	k	b	d	g	ɧ	s	☒	f	☒	v	j	m	n	ŋ	l	r	
FINAL (before pause)	ph	th	kh	b̥	d̥	g̊	ɧ	s	☒	f	☒	v	j	m	n	ŋ	l	r	

2. CLUSTERS initial medial final

a. vowel insertion

b. deletion

c. other

3. Voice assimilation

4. Syllabic consonants

5. Other

PROSODY

1. Quantity

1.1 Stressed syllable

a. vowels
long
short

b. consonants

1.2 Unstressed syllable

2. Word stress

YES NO

2.1 Word classes: negation pers.pron. reflex.pron. other

2.2 Distribution

a. one stress (primary stress):

b. two stresses (primary and secondary stress):

2.3 Manifestation

a. temporal

b. tonal

3. Intonation

3.1 Word accents

3.2 Question/statement

3.3 Sentence accent

4. Phrase rhythm

(distribution of stress on phrase level)

5. Phrasing

6. Other

Figure 1 (continued).

of Swedish, within a phonological system, and it also serves to clarify the informant's range of variation for different parts of the phonological structure of Swedish.

Evaluation. - The primary object of this project is to determine what general problems Swedish pronunciation presents for the speaker of a particular primary language. How to decide on where to draw the line between a deviation which characterizes a given foreigner's pronunciation and a general problem that the teacher should pay special attention to in teaching pronunciation is by no means obvious. This kind of evaluation depends on many factors.

1. One of the problems that can arise is that a particular target is not attained. The phonemic districtions involve mainly segments (phonemes). When *mjöl* ('flour') is pronounced as *mjäll* ('dandruff'), the target - the long /ø:/ - has not been reached.

Judgements of this sort are made on the basis of standard central Swedish pronunciation, but consideration is also given to regional variants, e.g. front, back, tremulant and fricative variants of /r/ are accepted. The vowels /æ/ and /ø/ need not be open before a front, tremulant /r/. A dark /l/ is judged an acceptable pronunciation of the standard Swedish /l/.

2. A different problem is that of impaired comprehensibility. This involves for the most part prosodic features and their combinations. One of the most important features is stress, both at the word and the sentence levels.

Results

The results of the analyses must be presented in a manner which is as pedagogically appropriate as possible[4]. The goal is that the information should be easily available to anyone who teaches Swedish to foreigners.

The results are divided into two parts, a detailed version for each of the languages investigated, and a summary form. The detailed analysis covers the phonology of Swedish, the systematic effects of syllabification on pronunciation, and important strategies that foreigners often use when confronted with problems with Swedish phonology. All problematic pronunciation

---

[4] "Immigrants in the communication society: to understand and be understood" led by Robert Bannert and Kenneth Hyltenstam and supported by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. Time 1.1.80 - 31.12.82.

PHONOLOGICAL TARGETS in Swedish				LANGUAGES AND DIFFICULTIES									
				British English	Spanish	Polish	Finnish	Greek	Persian	Punjabi	Japanese	Chinese	Thai
Consonant clusters	preceding stressed vowel				D,sC		D		V,sC	V,sC	V,sC	V,D	sC
	following stressed vowel				D,VA	VA	D	D,VA MSt	V,D	V,VA	V,D	V,D	
	before pause				D		D		V,D	V	V,D	V,D	D
Simple consonant	stops	aspirated			●	●	●	●		I,F			I,F
		unaspirated			M,F	DV	●			F			F
	sibilants				●		●	●			ʃ		
	other fricatives						f			f,v	f,v,h	ʃ,v	
	nasals				F			M	M,F		M,F		
	liquids										●	●	●
Vowels	Quantity	Categories (short/long)		s/l	s/l	l		s/l	s/l				
		Distribution		●	●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●
	Quality	Stressed	palatal rounded	●	●	●	y,ʉ	●	●	●	●	y,ʉ	y,ʉ
			pharyngeal										
			others	●	o	e,o		e,o	e,o	e,o	e,o,u	o	ɵ
		Unstressed		R,D						D		R	
- Polysyllabic words (often morphologically complex)									●	●	●	●	
- Word stress	Manifestation (temporal, tonal)								●	●	te	te	te
	Distribution one-stressed (primary)				●	●	I	●	●	●	●	●	●
	two-stressed (primary and secondary)				●	●		●	●	●	●	●	●
Wordaccent													
Sentence accent									●	●	●	●	
Intonation					●	●		●	●	●			
- Phrase rhythm(distribution of stresses on phrase and sentence level)									●	●	●	●	●

Table 3. Problems evaluated as most important in foreigners' pronunciation of Swedish

SYMBOLS IN TABLE 2

●	difficulty	R	reduction
D	deletion	sC	s + consonant word initi
DV	final devoicing	s/l	categories short, long
F	final position in word	te	temporal
I	initial position in word or first syllable	V	vowel insertion
NSt	nasal + stop	VA	voicing assimilation
M	medial position in word		

targets are graphically marked so that the information can be read at a glance. Examples are given for every phenomenon.

Presentation of the problems in table form represents yet another stage in the processing of the results. As a followup of the project's systematic analysis principles, the pronunciation difficulties have been evaluated. The difficulties reported for each language have been judged with respect to their degree of importance for comprehensibility in a speech situation. These judgements have been made in accordance with the principles outlined in Gårding (1979). The result is a hypothesis about the range of interference effects on comprehensibility for the particular deviations from the Swedish targets that we have found. It should be emphasized that this hypothesis must be tested. This will be one of the tasks of a new project[5] An overview of Swedish pronunciation difficulties, according to this evaluation, is given in Table 2.

The Swedish targets are listed to the left. They form the rows of the diagram and are grouped according to their respective domains, that is, word, syllable, or sentence domains, and according to type, i.e. segmental vs. prosodic. The pronunciation targets are shown in appropriate groups and subgroups. Presentation of the sound structure of Swedish in terms of distinctive features has been avoided for several reasons, the most important of which was pedagogical. However, it must be pointed out that, in order to get the most out of the information presented, the teacher needs some knowledge of elementary phonetics. Appropriate literature is therefore listed in the bibliography under a special heading.

The right side of the diagram shows the main languages. They form the columns and contain a specification of the targets for which a foreigner tion programs.

---

[5] To appear in Swedish in Praktisk Lingvistik, Institute of Linguistics, Lund University.

The conditions for instruction in linguistically heterogeneous groups are greatly improved. By comparing the problems pertaining to just those languages represented in the class, the teacher can give higher priority to targets that will cause difficulties for the greatest number of pupils.

The results of the analysis can also be used to monitor pupils' progress during the course of instruction. The teacher can easily construct a diagnostic test by first consulting Figure 1 and listening to speech samples, and the marking the deviant pronunciations according to the targets. This technique can also be useful in following up the effect of a given method of instruction. In this case Figure 1 can be used as an measurement tool either continually or at the beginning and the end of a period of instruction.

The collection of pronunciation problems in different languages (Table 2) can also be used as a measure of the phonological distance of a given primary language from Swedish. It is obvious that languages which give rise to only a few difficulties and furthermore to difficulties within only one of the three areas of Swedish phonology, for example, English, are closer to Swedish than languages like Spanish, which give rise both to more difficulties overall, and to a wider distribution of problems over all three different areas. One application of this kind of comparison is directly obvious - the question of deciding relative instruction time. A comparison of the different languages in terms of number of difficulties and their distribution should be an asset in making decisions, for example, about the design and length of preparatory studies in Swedish for foreign students.

with this particular primary language can be expected to have serious difficulties. Each position which is not so marked corresponds to a target which is not expected to cause any serious problems; one ought to keep in mind that some deviations may occur even on this point.

The marking of the columns has been chosen so as to be optimally informative. An "o" means that difficulties with a particular target can be expected. But this symbol does not indicate what type of difficulties will be encountered, nor how the pupil will behave in trying to avoid the problem. If, for example, only one of a group of sounds causes difficulties, this particular sound is shown by its phonetic symbol. This is the case, for example, for Polish speakers, who will have difficulties with /h/, but not with other targets in the fricative group.

Table 2 makes it easy to compare the problems for each language with those of the others. Such a comparison brings out a factor of considerable importance for the teaching situation. This concerns both the number of difficulties and in particular their distribution among the Swedish targets. As a rough approximation one can say that learning the pronunciation of Swedish is harder for a foreigner as the number of difficulties he or she has increases. Even though the difficulties may vary in the degree to which they contribute to his or her foreign accent, the number of problems shown in the diagram can serve as a rough but nonetheless useful estimate of the amount of instruction which will be necessary. But it is the second aspect which deserves the most attention: Foreigners who have problems in all areas of Swedish phonology will surely have a much harder time acquiring an adequate pronunciation than those whose problems are limited to a particular sub-area. As an example, compare English speakers with speakers of Persian: While the speaker of English has relatively few problems, primarily with Swedish vowels, Iranians have serious difficulties throughout, with consonants, vowels, and prosody. The Iranian has problems not just with individual segments, but with syllables, words and sentences as well.

Applications

The result of this report can be used in different ways and for different purposes. I shall list a few of these and comment on them.

The information itself - which problems are associated with which primary languages investigated - is an important source of information for the teacher of Swedish for foreigners. This applies to currently active teachers, and not the least to those who are now enrolled in teacher educa-

Bibliography

1. Background literature

Bannert, R. 1979a. Fel som hänger ihop, *Praktisk Lingvistik*, 23-42. (Institute of Linguistics, Lund University)

Bannert, R. 1979b. Ordprosodi i invandrarundervisningen, *Praktisk Lingvistik* 3.

Bannert, R., E. Gårdning, and S. Wood 1976. Vokaler och vokalsystem, in E. Gårding (ed.), *Kontrastiv fonetik och syntax med svenska i centrum*, Lund.

Gårding, E. 1974. *Kontrastiv fonetik*. Lund.

Gårding, E. 1976. Konsonanter och konsonantsystem, in E. Gårding (ed.), *Kontrastiv fonetik och syntax med svenska i centrum*, Lund.

Lundström, E., and P. af Trampe 1977. *Elementär fonetik*. Stockholm.

2. Pronunciation problems

Bannert, R. 1979c. Rapport från uttalskliniken, *Praktisk Lingvistik* 1, 45-57.

Bodegård, A. 1969. Svårigheter i svenskt uttal för polsktalande. Mimeographed. ABF Stockholm.

Corell, M., and M.-O. Pettersson 1978. *Elva språk och svenska. Lathund för* SFI-undervisningen. IES, Stockholm University.

Dahlstedt, K.-H. 1967. *Svårigheter i svenskans uttal*. Lund.

Gårding, E. 1979. Avvikande uttal: analys och värdering, *Praktisk Lingvistik* 1, 11-21.

Hammarberg, B., and B. Svensson 1975. *Svenska som främmande språk - en lärobok*. Stockholm.

Johansson, F.-A. 1973. *Immigrant Swedish Phonology. A study in Multiple Contact Analysis*. Travaux de l'Institut de Linguistique de Lund. Lund.

Walz, J. 1979. *The early acquisition of a second language phonology*. Hamburger Phonetische Beiträge 28. Hamburg.

THE LEARNERS' NATIVE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN TEACHING ENGLISH TO IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA

PEIJA ILPOLA
University of Oulu

On my sabbatical from the University of Oulu in the spring of 1977 I had the opportunity of doing some research in Australia concerning the courses, materials, and methods used when teaching English to migrants (immigrants) and the school achievement of Finnish children in Australia. (The latter, by the way, is good and thus differs from the educational standards reached by Finnish migrant children in Sweden.) While doing the research work I paid attention to the ways in which the learner's native language and culture were taken into consideration in teaching English to both adult and child migrants and the role of immigrants in the Australian community.

The Commonwealth of Australia launched its scheme of teaching English to adult migrants in the late 1940s. Some of the courses inaugurated then are still popular, e.g. the evening continuation classes and instruction by radio and correspondence. At times, bilingual methods were used and the trend seems to be in the same direction again. At about the same time, slightly over 30 years ago, attempts were made to educate the Australian people in their attitude to accept rather than reject migrants. Within the last ten years, the development has been fast in both areas.

Today there are various full-time courses, intensive courses and accelerated courses. The students are paid a living allowance while attending them. There are part-time accelerated courses, particularly suited to shift-workers and housewives; industrial and professional courses, rehabilitation courses in hospitals, instruction via TV, and classes run by volunteers. The migrants are shown in many ways that they are cared for.

Australia's versatile efforts to teach English to immigrants and the appreciation of ethnic groups have progressed together with the standard of living and education. However, there is still much to do in overcoming prejudice between and within the various groups and in creating a well-integrated multicultural society.

It is interesting to notice the change of tone in demographic books within a few years. The first volume of Population and Australia, published in Canberra in 1975, suggests when dealing with the ethnic origins of immigrants that the migrants' cultural and social impact should not be overestimated. On the last pages of the Supplementary Report, published three years later (1978), the National Population Inquiry refers to the emphasis there is at the moment on the merits of multiculturalism and the establishment of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council in 1977. But it does not neglect to mention that most immigrants were born in the British Isles and the predominant feature of Australian 'ethnicity' is an overwhelming majority, primarily Anglo-Saxon, who communicate easily because they understand one another's language, political system, religious and social customs, etc., and a very diversified minority in which many have little understanding of the majority language and culture.

The child migrant education program was introduced as late as 1970. There are several good models of solving the problems in this area, but more resources, e.g. specially trained teachers of English as a second (or foreign) language, are badly needed. One fourth of Australia's population now comes from non-English speaking backgrounds. It is estimated that only 1/3 of the children needing special instruction in English are getting any so far.

The importance of learning English is not questioned, but on the other hand it is noteworthy that though the migrant child is taught the language of the majority and given instruction about Australia, he is at the same time encouraged to retain and respect his mother tongue and cultural heritage, nowadays considered values to be preserved. Besides ethnic schools, there are schools providing instruction in the child's native language and some others with bilingual curricula.

It has been necessary to re-educate the Australian public as concerns the value of bilingual education particularly at the primary level. The sudden change of policy may have puzzled the parents as well. For years they were persuaded by Australian teachers to believe that hearing and speaking nothing but English was vitally important for their children to succeed at school.

As Australian specialists consider English an extremely difficult language, they recommend an early start. Many of them are also in favour of an uninterrupted process of concept formation in the learner's mother tongue. Bilingual education combines the two. It is also believed that children are helped to develop as whole persons if they are given an opportunity of using and reinforcing their ethnic language. I quote an Australian headmaster: "If by actively maintaining an ethnic language we do nothing more than give people the impression that we respect their language and culture, we will have done much that is positive by way of fostering family unity and security, and confidence in their new country."

However, there are schools of high migrant density where the children's needs are neglected. The staff are often completely unaware of the backgrounds of the pupils they teach. They also lack training in linguistics, have never studied another language, and know little of language development in children.

I found that the teachers qualified to teach English as a second language were efficient, devoted to their work and sincerely interested in their students and their ethnic-cultural backgrounds. They tried to get acquainted with their pupils on a personal basis, understand their particular problems, and help them in difficulties caused by language.

In a mining town in northern Queensland I observed a teacher giving tuition in English simultaneously to two levels, three generations, and a number of nationalities in an evening continuation class. The next day he travelled from school to school giving special instruction in English to migrant children during their normal English lessons. For one period, for instance, he taught two refugee boys from Laos, brothers aged 12 and 13. The boys were starting their study of the language and were well motivated to learn it in its written form as well. The teacher knew what sort of language problems were to be expected as a result of the boys' tonal mother tongue and the Sanskrit script, and what kind of special help they needed.

Ethnic background papers and other publications provide useful information about the learners' social, cultural and economic background. They help the teacher in picking out suitable topics for presentation and discussion in class. Informative articles on English language difficulties of migrant students are published e.g. in English a New Language, a bulletin for teachers of new Australians in continuation classes. In its June issue 1971, some areas of difficulty for Finnish students of English are dealt with as well as some of Hungarian and Italian students.

A number of the migrant teachers I interviewed had worked as English teachers outside Australia, usually in a European or Asian country. They considered this experience invaluable in their present occupation. They had gained a new perspective to their own language, were now better acquainted with its structure and understood the problems that learners encounter when learning it as a foreign language.

When I interviewed school principals in various parts of Australia, they hardly ever made any complaints of the migrant children. "They are no problem, but the parents are." The lack of effective communication causes misunderstanding between schools and ethnic families. Bridging the gap is not easy. School reports written in English are sometimes tragically misinterpreted. There is a story of a Greek boy in South Australia whose teacher wrote in his report under the heading "Class participation" the favourable comment "often takes part in class discussions". His parents thought it meant "often talks in class" and punished him severely.

Steps are being taken to make ethnic parents active participants in school and community life. Their contribution would be valuable in promoting mutual understanding and strengthening the multicultural atmosphere. Plans have been made to involve them in teaching and learning.

Recently the Australian government introduced some innovations in the field of adult migrant education. These include, for example, multiclass centres providing tuition at a variety of levels; day classes for women (often in association with schools); family classes at community centres; classes held to provide tuition for members of various ethnic organisations; classes to enable the parents of children attending ethnic schools to receive tuition in English while their children receive tuition in their parents' first language, etc.

It has been realized that (1) Australian society is multicultural; (2) minorities and majorities have rights; and (3) the home, the peer group, the media and school are institutions influencing the child. It is a tremendous challenge for the Commonwealth of Australia and the ethnic groups themselves to solve the problems concerning adult and child migrant education. The government has encouraged the introduction of migrant education into the training of all teachers. For graduate teachers there are seminars and courses which acquaint them with migrant majority and minority groups, the difficulties caused by various linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and the teacher's role in such an environment. These courses could be extended to pre-service training.

Bibliography

Clyne, M. 1977. Bilingual education: present and past. Paper presented to ANZAAS Conference, Melbourne.

English a New Language Vol. 13, No. 2, 1971, and Vol. 14, No. 3, 1976. Department of Education, Canberra.

Ilpola, P. 1979. *Australian siirtolaisten englannin kielen opetus ja Australian suomalaisten siirtolaisten lasten koulumenestys*. Jatko-opiskelututkielmia ja -selosteita 6/1977. Opetusministeriö, Helsinki.

Inquiry into Schools of High Migrant Density 1974. 1975. Department of Education, Canberra.

Matthews, P. 1979. Multiculturalism and education, *Education News* 13:10, Department of Education, Canberra, 14-19.

McNamara, R. 1976. Multicultural Education. Paper presented to Child Migrant Conference, Canberra.

Population and Australia, First Report of the National Population Inquiry. 1975. Canberra.

Recent Demographic Trends and their Implications, *Supplementary Report of the National Population Inquiry*. 1978. Canberra.

Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services to Migrants, Appendix 20. 1978. Canberra.

Through a migrant's eyes. 1976. Education Department, South Australia.

AFinLA:n julkaisusarja

Oheisessa luettelossa on mainittu myös julkaisujen sivumäärät ja hinnat. AFinLA:n jäsenet saavat näistä hinnoista jäsenetuna 50 %:n alennuksen tilatessaan kirjat JY:n englannin kielen laitokselta. Muut kuin jäsenet osoittavat tilauksensa Akateemiseen kirjakauppaan, jolloin mainittuihin hintoihin tulee vielä lisäksi lvv + kirjakaupan käsittelykulut.

N:o 1. Pekka Hirvonen, Englannin kielen taidon mittaaminen lukion päättyessä: 1. Lähtökohdat. Turku 1971. (47 s, 6 mk)

N:o 2. Colin Black (ed.), English in the Junior School: 3 Current Textbooks Analysed and Compared. Turku 1971. (38 s, 4 mk)

N:o 3. J.V. Lerner, Introduktion till en systematisk grammatik: Är den generativa grammatiken för svår för skolan? Turku 1971. (24 s, 4 mk)

N:o 4. Pekka Hirvonen, Englannin kielen taidon mittaaminen lukion päättyessä: 2, Kuuntelukoe. Turku 1971. (76 s, 10 mk)

N:o 5. Pekka Hirvonen (toim.), Tätä mieltä kielten opetuksesta. Turku 1972. (78 s, 6 mk)

N:o 6. Valde Mikkonen, Kieli-instituuttien oppilasvalinnat 1971. Turku 1972. (34 s, 4 mk)

N:o 7. Pekka Hirvonen, Englannin kielen taidon mittaaminen lukion päättyessä: 3, Lukukoe ja kirjoituskoe. Turku 1973. (82 s, 10 mk)

N:o 8. Pekka Hirvonen, Englannin kielen taidon mittaaminen lukion päättyessä: 4, Puhumiskoe. Turku 1973. (52 s, 8 mk)

N:o 9. Pekka Hirvonen, Englannin kielen taidon mittaaminen lukion päättyessä: 5, Kielitaitokoe. Turku 1974. (132 s, 15 mk)

N:o 10. Anna-Liisa Leino, The Importance of Objectives in Foreign Language Instruction as Rated by Teachers. Turku 1974. (111 s, 14 mk)

N:o 11. Christer Påhlsson, Riksspråk, uttal och samhällsroll. Helsinki 1975. (36 s, 10 mk)

N:o 12. Matti Rahkonen, Adverbialets placering in svenska och finska satser. Helsinki 1975. (45 s, 10 mk)

N:o 13. Viljo Kohonen (toim.), Integratiivisen kielitaidon mittaamisesta close-testien avulla: teoriaa ja sovelluksia. Turku 1976. (113 s, 15 mk)

N:o 14. Liisa Nummenmaa (toim.), Kieli, konteksti ja tilanne - AFinLA:n syyssymposiumi 1975. Helsinki 1976 (91 s, 14 mk)

N:o 15. Hanna Jaakkola, Ylioppilaskokelaiden englannin kielen tutkinnon aineosioiden lauserakenteesta. Helsinki 1976. (93 s, 14 mk)

N:o 16. Eero Laine, Student Attitudes in Foreign Language Teaching. Turku 1976. (52 s, 10 mk)

N:o 17. Eero Laine, Vieraan kielen opiskelumotivaatio Suomessa I. Foreign Language Learning Motivation in Finland I. Turku 1977. (165 s, 20 mk)

N:o 18. Kari Sajavaara (toim.), Näkökulmia kieleen. Helsinki 1977. (128 s, 20 mk).

N:o 19. Sirkka-Liisa Särkilahti, Tyylintutkimuksen kvantitatiiviset metodit. Turku 1977 (144 s, 20 mk)

N:o 20. Kari Sajavaara (toim.), AFinLA:n vuosikirja 1977. Helsinki 1977. (84 s, 14 mk)